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One of the planks in the SWP platform is as quoted below:

"3) FREEDOM NOW for all minorities Full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people and for all other minority groups. Solidarity with mass actions aimed at securing these rights as exemplified in the rent strikes, school boycotts, picketing of construction sites, public demonstrations and sit-ins. Uphold the right of self-defense against white-supremacist violence.

"Full use of the federal power to enforce all laws and court orders against discrimination and segregation. Enforce existing laws against lynch murder and police brutality and enact new ones. End the barbaric death penalty and reform the antiquated prison system.

Establish an FEPC with teeth and compensate minorities for the disadvantages they have suffered. Create a federal agency fully empowered and equipped to enforce minority rights in all spheres of national life. Federal action to guarantee and protect the right to vote in all national, state, county and city elections. Abolish all existing poll taxes.

Teach Negro and African history in the nation's schools. Combat all forms of anti-Semitism."

An editorial was printed in the July 27, 1964 edition of "The Militant" saying that the attempt by the New York police to "repress" the people of Harlem by brute force and open violence were military tactics which had been planned in advance and known to top officials. The editorial went on to say that in carrying out their orders against the people of Harlem the police could not expect to be well received by "the victims of the oppression they enforce." The editorial further stated that capitalist society had nothing to offer the black people except exploitation. The editorial concluded that present capitalist politicians and most Negro

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leaders were useless to the black masses. They were also, it was claimed, useless for organizing the revolutionary political struggle required to win justice and dignity for the black working class.

An article was printed in "The Militant" of August 10, 1964, which it was stated would set forth the real meaning of the Harlem riots. In the article, the riots during the summer of 1964 were described as "the entry into direct action of do-or-die freedom-fighters, an authentic made-in-the-USA resistance movement, the uprising of the most daring and self-sacrificing elements of an oppressed people." The protests were further described as "revolutionary defiance aimed at the overthrow of the whole rotten system ... anti-capitalist in effect if not in conscience."

In the August 24, 1964 issue of "The Militant", CLIFFORD DE BERRY claimed that the New York City police were in a concerted drive to establish a police state in Harlem.

In "The Militant" of September 13, 1964, an article was printed defending the interest of the SWP in the movement for Negro independence. It was set forth that the SWP advocated Negro independence because history showed the more independent the Negro movement became, the more revolutionary it became, and the more revolutionary, the better for all revolutionists, white and black. It was claimed that the process of growing independence would inevitably lead the Negro movement toward close collaboration with other revolutionary forces, including the SWP.

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WORKERS WORLD-PARTY

A characterization of the Workers World Party (WWP) appears in the Appendix Section attached hereto.

(U) ~~C~~ 1. Plans and Activities on National Level

At a New York Branch WWP meeting at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, on March 8, 1963, [redacted] WWP [redacted] spoke concerning efforts to free [redacted] [redacted] stated that Ohio authorities had set bail for [redacted] and the WWP had to raise \$1500, which was the amount needed to post bond. At this meeting, \$1,045 was pledged by persons present and [redacted] indicated that additional sums were to be raised by the WWP in Buffalo, New York, and in Ohio. ~~X~~

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(U)

[redacted] NY T-150

[redacted] March 11, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

During recent months, the primary activity of the WWP has been its attempts to secure bail for [redacted] through the Monroe Defense Committee (MDC), and to bring public pressure to bear to have the Governor of Ohio revoke the extradition warrant concerning [redacted] WWP provides living expenses for [redacted] WWP National Committee member, who serves as [redacted] MDC. ~~X~~

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[redacted] NY T-150

[redacted] May 8, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

A characterization of the Monroe Defense Committee appears in the Appendix hereto.

At the September 2, 1963, session of the WWP Labor Day Conference held August 31 - September 2, 1963, at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, [redacted] spoke concerning the increased activities concerning the MDC and its fight on behalf of [redacted]. He stated that 10,000 signatures were obtained for an appeal to the Governor of Ohio to cancel [redacted] extradition to North Carolina.

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At the September 2, 1963 session of the WWP Conference, [redacted] praised [redacted] for his self-sacrifice and hardships on behalf of the MDC. [redacted] stated that state and federal authorities must know that the WWP will fight in every manner to keep [redacted] alive and free. (U)

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[NY T-150]  
September 5, 1963]

(U) 2. Plans and Activities at Local Level

At a meeting of the New York Branch WWP on September 27, 1963, at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, [redacted] spoke concerning the urgent need for funds to aid [redacted] and the MDC. [redacted] stated that the court decision concerning the extradition of [redacted] was scheduled for October 7, 1963. He indicated that should the decision be unfavorable, WWP members from New York City and Buffalo, New York, would be called upon to go to Cleveland to take actions such as demonstrations to prevent [redacted] extradition to North Carolina. [redacted] stated that the MDC had been instructed to take any steps necessary to keep [redacted] in Cleveland and indicated that force should be used if necessary even to the point of WWP members facing arrest in the fight to prevent [redacted] extradition. As a result of [redacted] speech, a total of \$3,100 was pledged by persons present at the meeting. (U)

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[NY T-150]  
September 30, 1963]

On January 14, 1964, Sheriff [redacted] Monroe, North Carolina, advised SA GUY HILL COX, Jr., that [redacted] was at that time incarcerated in Union County Jail, Monroe, North Carolina. Sheriff GRIFFIN stated that a \$10,000 cash bond had been set for [redacted] (U)

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On January 14, 1964, Chief of Police [redacted] [redacted], Monroe, North Carolina, advised SA [redacted] that [redacted] from Cleveland, Ohio, came to Monroe during the previous weekend shortly after the arrival of [redacted] and [redacted] was (U)

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attempting to make bond for her. Chief MAUNHEY advised that [redacted] had visited [redacted] in jail on two occasions and had been in contact with local Negro citizens in an effort to make bond for [redacted]

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At a Branch Meeting of the New York Branch WWP on January 17, 1964, at 46 West 21st Street, New York City, [redacted] stated that the WWP on January 17, 1964, sent \$10,000 via Western Union to [redacted] in Monroe, North Carolina, to be used by the MDC to post bond for [redacted]

According to [redacted] this money was raised by loans and donations from WWP members in New York City and some of it would be repaid when the bail money was returned. [redacted] stated that other organizations wanted to help [redacted] however, she had agreed to accept help only from or through the WWP. X (U)

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[NY T-150  
January 18, 1964] X (U)

The Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) was scheduled to sponsor a picket demonstration at the New York City Police Department, located on East 104th Street, New York City, on February 23, 1964, to protest alleged police brutality against Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The demonstration was to be publicized as sponsored by the East Harlem Tenants Council; however, it was to be controlled by the WWP and the YAWF. X

On February 23, 1964, the above-described demonstration began at 2:30 p.m., and ended at 3:45 p.m.. Participants displayed placards with such slogans as "Stop Police Brutality" and "We Demand Justice". The group chanted "Assassins!" and "Murderers!" at police in the area. The demonstration was under the complete control of the WWP with WWP members serving as line captains as well as participants.

[NY T-150  
February 22, 24, 1964] X (U)

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A characterization of the YAWF is contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

On November 21, 1963, a picket line was observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in front of the 24th Precinct, New York City Police Department (NYCPD), West 100th Street, New York City. Placards carried by participants disclosed that this demonstration was sponsored by the YAWF and had been called to protest the killing of two Puerto Ricans by members of the NYCPD. The picket line grew steadily, until 100 people were participating, at which time the group left the picket area and moved into the street, blocking traffic. The crowd continued to grow until an estimated 300 people had joined the demonstrators who then moved in an un-organized marching mob to Broadway, where for approximately 15 minutes, the south bound lanes of Broadway were completely blocked. Requests by police officials for the crowd to disperse were met with jeers and boos until a sizable tactical Police Force arrived on the scene and, taking the demonstrators under control, forced them from the area.

The primary activity of the WWP in recent months has been its attempt to secure freedom for [redacted] [redacted] by influencing public opinion in her favor. Following [redacted] conviction for kidnapping in Monroe, North Carolina, in February, 1964, the WWP provided the necessary funds for [redacted] to make bond while the case was being appealed. The WWP provides living expenses for [redacted] who serves as [redacted] of the MDC in North Carolina. X (U)

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b7CNY T-150  
May 4, 1964 X (U)~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

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3. Plans and Activities as Stated in the "Workers World"

A characterization of the "Workers World" appears in the Appendix hereto.

The January 11, 1963, issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Black Actors Jimcrowed - And Black Audiences Insulted", which set forth that a black skin condemns a person to low wages and job discrimination in every field. But even worse was the fact that the racist ruling class fosters lynchings, mob violence, and police brutality. The article continued that recent hearings on discrimination in New York had disclosed that black actors had little chance of being employed in a drama on Broadway, in television or the movies.

The February 8, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Fascist Ruling Class Lets Us Talk About 'Negro History' This Week, But Keeps Black Freedom Fighters Like [REDACTED] Locked Up in Jail". This article criticized Ohio state authorities for not freeing [REDACTED]

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The February 8, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" contained an editorial entitled, [REDACTED] Appeal", which calls for an avalanche of petitions, letters and telegrams to be sent to the Governor's Office of Ohio asking that the warrant to extradite [REDACTED] to North Carolina be revoked. The article also asked that contributions be sent to the MDC in Cleveland, Ohio.

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The March 8, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "JFK Talks Civil Rights For South As Racist Terrors Rages in North", which claimed that even though President JOHN F. KENNEDY had said a few words about civil rights in a message to Congress, he really has not the slightest intention of bringing any rights to the disfranchised black masses of the South.

The May 10, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" headlined a front page article entitled, "Freedom Now!". The article praised the people of Birmingham for having "taken to the field of battle." According to the article, the world

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is watching the Birmingham situation and stated "that every friend of freedom everywhere should lay aside whatever he is doing and "take up the cause as the enemy of that cause are the Workers' enemies."

The June 21, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Kennedy's Civil Rights Program, Too Little - Too Late - Too Phony, 20,000,000 People Want Freedom." This article stated that the black masses were fighting for their freedom but the capitalist ruling class - North as well as South .. are not yet ready to grant this freedom. The article continued, "The old masters are not merely keeping segregation because they hate the Afro-American. They are making profits out of him."

The September 27, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" contained an editorial entitled, "The Right of Self-Defense", which discussed the racial problems in Birmingham, Alabama, and stated that the only way for the black people to obtain freedom is by the principle of self-defense. The editorial asserted that self-defense, like self-preservation is a law of nature and that law must inevitably assert itself as a class law.

The September 27, 1963 issue of the "Workers World" also headlined an article entitled, "Only Armed Self-Defense To Stop The Racist Terror in Birmingham". This article alleged that the black people of Birmingham had already taken their defense into their own hands.

The February 6, 1964 issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "NY School Boycott Great Success; Harbinger of Coming Liberation". This article lauded the leaders and participants in the February 3, 1963, New York City school boycott.

The March 5, 1964, issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Monroe Frame-Up Trial Verdict Arouses World-Wide Protest". This article criticized the conviction of [redacted] by an "all white jury" in Monroe, North Carolina, which grew out of the "kidnapping frame-up which occurred during a mass racist attack on the black community of Monroe in August, 1961". The article indicates that [redacted] was convicted only because of her color.

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The June 4, 1964, issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "White Workers: Don't Fall For Hysteria of Racist Ruling Class!", which stated that the white bosses were trying to convince the people that the civil rights protest was being carried out by "black teen gangs"; was only a police trick to deny civil rights and to divide the working class. The article alleged that the call for more police protection from some groups was not designed to protect the poor working people, but to crack down more viciously on the Afro-American and Puerto Rican minorities.

The July 2, 1964, issue of the "Workers World" contained an article entitled, "Only Organized Self-Defense Will Stop Lynch Terror!" This article discussed the three civil rights fighters who were reported missing in Mississippi and stated that, "LBW, ALLEN DULLES and the FBI were collaborating with the same Klan .. cops who probably helped the lynchers". The article mentioned that the possibility of sending troops to Mississippi had been discussed and stated that people should not forget what every black worker knows: 'the US Govcrnment is run by a pack of racists - and so is the Army only more so'. The article concluded with a paragraph urging that the masses organize their own armed self-defence to stop the lynchers and would-be lynchers.

The July 30, 1964 issue of the "Workers World" contained an editorial entitled, "Self-Defense", which concluded with the following paragraphs:

"Our slogan has always been to disarm the oppressor; arm the oppressed. The oppressed black people are going to implement this slogan against the police and police agents of the oppressor.

"It is the duty of all workers of all nationalities and races to support them."

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II - COMMUNIST TACTICS

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A. Demonstrations at New York State Hospital,  
New York City, July, 1963

During July, 1963, picketing took place at the construction site of the New York State Hospital, 450 Clarkson Avenue, Brooklyn, New York (Downstate Medical Center), to protest racial discrimination in hiring practices. There were numerous arrests made during this period in which persons were charged with lying in the roadway at the construction site, obstructing traffic, and refusing to move on when ordered. The demonstrators at times were attempting to prevent trucks from entering the construction area. CORE and the NAACP participated in these demonstrations.

New York City Police Department,  
Bureau of Special Services  
July, 1963

The records of the New York City Police Department,  
New York, reflect that [redacted]  
[redacted] Brooklyn, New York, and [redacted]

[redacted] Brooklyn, New York, were arrested on July 30, 1963 and July 22, 1963, respectively, and charged with disorderly conduct. The arrests were the result of picketing activities at the construction site of the Downstate Medical Center, 450 Clarkson Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, on that part of [redacted] and in the vicinity of Lenox Road and East 37th Street, Brooklyn, New York, on the part of [redacted]

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On July 22, 1963, at a civil rights demonstration at the Downstate Medical Center, Clarkson Avenue and Brooklyn Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, [redacted] and [redacted] were arrested for attempting to block the entrances to the building site. They were arraigned in Adolescent Court, 120 Schermerhorn Avenue, Brooklyn, charged with disorderly conduct. They were released on their own recognizance and told to report back to the court on July 26, 1963.

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NY T-4  
July 24, 1963

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B. MARCH ON WASHINGTON, 8/28/63

This investigation is predicated upon the following information which reflects the full support of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) to the August 28, 1963, March on Washington:

(U) Source furnished a letter dated June 11, 1963, on the letterhead of the CPUSA, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York, addressed "To All Districts" from the "Organization Commission". This letter reflects the following.

"Dear Comrades:

(U) "The March on Washington, August 28th, called by the major organizations conducting the fight for civil rights, is an event of the greatest historic importance. It deserves the support of everyone who recognizes that this struggle is essential to guaranteeing constitutional rights for all and for the further democratic advance of our country."

"For this reason, we, as all other labor and progressive groups, will lend our full support to this event." (U)

(U) "We urge you follow closely these developments and that you follow the Worker and Midweek Worker on the progress of the campaign, as well as suggestions for its further development."

Source related this letter was erroneously dated June 11, 1963, rather than July 11, 1963. (U)

NY T-1  
July 15, 1963] (U)

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INTEREST OF CPUSA IN MARCH ON WASHINGTON

(U) ~~National Leadership, CPUSA~~

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At a meeting of leading CP functionaries held June 19, 1963, in New York, JAMES E. JACKSON reported on the importance of the Negro liberation movement and the importance of getting legislation abolishing segregation in all public places. He called for a Federal policy of non-discrimination, and the inclusion of on-the-job training for Negroes in all areas of the United States. ~~X~~

(U)

JACKSON stated 100,000 to 200,000 white people should join with the Negro people in a massive demonstration in Washington, D. C., in the event of a filibuster to prevent the passage of civil rights laws. He added a cooperative relationship must be established among the Negro organizations. ~~X~~

(U)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked everyone is calling the Negro movement a revolution. He said it is a transition of the Negro in this country from second class to first class citizenship within the framework of our present social system. He continued, "We are witnessing a revolutionary movement in our country, but we are just not in it...". ~~X~~

(U)

DAVIS said the biggest single question is not the disagreement and disunity among Negro leaders, which is serious enough, but it is the fact that the white allies of the Negro people are not coming into the struggle enough. He said he would like to see a plan of action develop and would like "to see the Party get on all fours in respect to the struggle". ~~X~~

(U)

IRVING POTASH commented the differences which exist among the Negro organizations should not be permitted to develop into bitterness that plays into "the hands of the enemy". He said "our Party" can play a "special role, a public role" and can exert a wholesome influence in this area. ~~X~~

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POTASH said the criticism against the Party is valid, and it is correct to say "we" are not coming forward, not writing and not giving leadership. The leadership of the Party should explore all ways and means for all of "us" to play a bigger role in this struggle "which we have not done yet". ~~X~~

POTASH felt the trade union movement was not making a real struggle because of their own discrimination, and the comrades must find ways to "build a fire" under the (U) leadership of the trade union movement. ~~X~~

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated no matter how much (U) "we" do, it is not enough, but, on the other hand, "we" should not underestimate the work the Party does. ~~X~~

JAMES E. JACKSON stated "The Worker" must be utilized along with Party facilities to interest the trade union movement in the Negro struggle, and "the Party must register its presence on the street". ~~X~~ (U)

[ NY T-2  
June 19, 1963 ] ~~X~~

At a meeting of the Organization Bureau, CPUSA, held July 11, 1963, at CP Headquarters, New York City, (U) JACK STACHEL stated the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the August 28th march on Washington, D. C., which he said had two objectives: ~~X~~

1. To arouse the conscience of America to the (U) economic plight of the Negro in the United States. ~~X~~

2. To demand that an effective and meaningful civil rights bill be passed by Congress, to protest against filibuster and demand majority rule in the United (U) States Senate. ~~X~~

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STACHEL described plans being made by organizations preparing this demonstration and then asked rhetorically, "How can we explain to anybody in the future that 100,000 people went to Washington and we were not among them?" ~~(S)~~ (U)

STACHEL proposed that, if need be, the Party finance people to go to this demonstration. He suggested that contact be made with Jewish clubs and national groups such as the Hungarians, Russians, Ukrainians and Armenians in order to get people for the demonstration. He commented "We must convey this approach to the other Districts. There are tremendous possibilities here for contacts with the Negroes, in the Jewish field, the youth. It can open up a new life for us." ~~(S)~~ (U)

IRVING POTASH proposed that Comrades go to community organizations and set up groups in shops to collect money. He said that Party must concentrate on the unemployment issue in Harlem, Newark and other areas "where there are congregations of Negro population". ~~(S)~~ (U)

STACHEL proposed further meetings on this matter to perfect plans, stating that he thinks it possible "for our Left forces alone, if they work properly, to organize more than five thousand people to be there in Washington". ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-2  
July 11, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

During a meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, and invited guests, held July 31, 1963, in New York, JAMES E. JACKSON, commenting on the Negro struggle for integration, said "we" have to spell out the task for our rank and file membership on how to most effectively utilize the struggles to make our contribution. In addition to being a part of the movement, "we" have to see in this the opportunity to build up friends with the objective of bringing them into the Party. ~~(S)~~

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JACKSON said "we" have to discuss how the Party can do more, because one of the aspects of this struggle is that it is an ideological struggle for the minds of the many people who come to join "us" in the fight. "We" have a role not only as "activists", but also a role to play in the "ideological ferment" that is being born. It is a new chance to put "our Party" back in contact with the people responsible for organizational questions. ~~X~~

[NY T-2]

[July 31, 1963]

(U)

A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held August 1, 1963, at the CPUSA national office in New York. ~~X~~ (U)

JACK STACHEL opened the discussion and said there would be only one point on the agenda, "August 28th and civil rights in general". He said two questions have been raised: "our" responsibility for bringing the maximum number of "our people" into the movement, and in some places "we" are effective... but much more needs to be done. He said the question always to be decided upon is on what do you base yourself and the answer is to defend Negro rights. ~~X~~ (U)

STACHEL stated that Negroes make up a large majority of the working class and "we" have to represent them. The second question is in regard to the labor movement in relation to Negroes and whites and "we" have to become the vanguard in this. Continuing, STACHEL said the main thing "we" decided is that on August 28th, "we" will participate and organize a minimum of 100 people plus "our" literature and "The Worker". He said that WILLIAM WEINSTONE and LOUIS WEINSTOCK will help plan this and make sure "we" have Comrades. The general idea is that Comrades will sell papers and there are available pamphlets on the Negro question. The idea is to organize pressure groups.... which will come from New Jersey, Philadelphia and Baltimore.... The estimate is that it will require a minimum of 100 people. ~~X~~ (U)

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WILLIAM ALBERTSON said it must be realized that before this "civil rights revolution" got underway, the Party was isolated from the movement of the Negro people. He stated that to build the Party, it must be shown "that you are the best picketers, the best cadre fighting, the best of everything, otherwise you are just a propaganda organization and you are not participating in the struggle". ~~X~~ (U)

ALBERTSON proposed the opening of a special headquarters in Washington, D. C. He stated "the people that we organize can go there as part of a whole group, and then they separate themselves there". He suggested that recruits for the demonstration be sought among people "who do not have mass responsibilities" noting "we have a whole group of needle trades Comrades who are retired". ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM WEINSTONE proposed that a quantity of literature be carefully selected to get into the hands of the people and "thereby help to deepen the struggle". ~~X~~ (U)

ARNOLD JOHNSON said there should be a meeting between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the church groups and the various other agencies that are participating so that some kind of order can be maintained. He said that there should be a full-fledged discussion on this and proposed that the NAACP be contacted in order to arrange a meeting. He continued, "secondly, I would like to say this August 28th is not the climax to this fight. It is not the end to everything. We should not go into this thing with everything we've got only to find that we have nothing left to go with after the 28th". ~~X~~ (U)

JOHNSON urged that the Party try to become associated "with these different groups that are participating" noting that in this way "we may receive a share of the TV, radio and press coverage that will go with this event". He said that besides contacting all these other agencies, it is very important to contact the unions, both as to their participation in the march and also as to their hiring ~~X~~ (U)

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policies. With respect to literature, JOHNSON suggested the publication of a supplement on the "international question, "which we can direct to the Negroes". He commented, (U) "I think we can sell this for a nickel". ~~(S)~~

WILLIAM ALBERTSON expressed pleasure with the activity going on in New York, and commented "we have in this march a relationship between Negro and white that we have never had before in history". ~~(S)~~

ALBERTSON said "we" have two objectives:

1. Participation by the total membership. ~~(S)~~

2. "We" take responsibility for initiating organization on the "grass roots level" in connection with the march... ~~(S)~~

He said there is one problem, the Puerto Ricans are going down and are setting up their own political action group and there is nothing "we" can do about it. ~~(S)~~

IRVING POTASH commented that "our Comrades" in industry have been instructed to make the maximum contacts possible in whatever factory they are in and "our people" should follow up these contacts "after August 28th". ~~(S)~~

WILLIAM ALBERTSON, concluding the discussion, said that there is to be from 50 to 75 assembly points in Washington. Each state will have an assembly point. The smaller States will be merged. ALBERTSON then proposed that they set up a committee of three to plan the Washington operation. He proposed [redacted] from Baltimore, JOE BRANDT and LOUIS WEINSTOCK. ~~(S)~~

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[NY T-2  
August 1, 1963]

~~(S)~~

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~~Source reported that on August 2, 1963,~~ (U)  
GUS HALL inquired what "The Worker" was going to do with  
regard to the March on Washington.

According to the source, HALL was advised "The Worker" was planning a special edition "dedicated completely to the March" and intended to distribute a minimum of 10,000 copies in Washington, D. C. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Further, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN would prepare an article, [REDACTED] would write an article on the Negro labor movement and JOE NORTH and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT have been asked to prepare articles for the special edition. X (U) b6 b7C

HALL commented that after thinking it over, he did think everyone should participate in the March on Washington. He said the Party should avoid giving the appearance it is taking over the March. HALL stated that, on the other hand, the Party does want to take anything away from the March so they must be discreet on how they handle it. HALL related he told CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT in Chicago that he (LIGHTFOOT) does not have to actively participate, however, he believes [redacted] from Baltimore and THOMAS NABRIED should attend. ~~✓~~

NY T-3  
August 2, 1965 *(X)* (U)

At a meeting of leading CP functionaries held August 7, 1963, in New York, JACK STACHEL proposed copies of "The Worker" and other literature be distributed to delegations to the March on Washington scheduled for August 28, 1963, prior to their departure. He suggested that the distribution be made at departure points in various areas. With respect to the number of copies of "The Worker" to be distributed, STACHEL proposed the following quotas: ~~X~~ (U)

SUGAR

NY 100-153735

New York - 5,000  
New Jersey - 500  
Philadelphia - 1,000  
Maryland - 500  
Michigan - 500  
Illinois - 500

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(U)

It was agreed that distribution is to be made before or after the March on Washington and not during the time it is in progress. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM ALBERTSON said that 50 or 75 "New York Comrades" should be mobilized on the date of departure of delegates to the March on Washington and given 100 to 150 pieces of literature apiece to distribute at Pennsylvania Station, and the bus terminal. He said the first train leaves at 5:20 AM and the comrades should, therefore, be instructed to report at CP Headquarters at 4:00 AM. ~~X~~ (U)

[ NY T-2  
August 7, 1963 ] ~~X~~ (U)

A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held August 14, 1963, at the CPUSA national office in New York. ~~X~~ (U)

ROBERT THOMPSON, in discussing the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, said the problem "we" have is the relationship between Negroes and Puerto Ricans, which can be harmful. According to THOMPSON, the Puerto Ricans have not been successful, because they have not gone through what the Negro has over the years. Coupled with this, is also the fact that the Puerto Ricans do not desire to be linked with the Negro population, and as a result elements of racism are showing. ~~X~~ (U)

Continuing, THOMPSON remarked that the Puerto Rican movement may develop under its own leadership, and "our job" should be to attempt to get a development under cooperative lines.... ~~X~~ (U)

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THOMAS NABRIED stated that in Philadelphia "we" have gone into certain areas with loudspeakers to inform the people as to what is going on. "We" expect that about half of these people in these areas will participate in the March on Washington, and "we" are interested in setting up a meeting upon their return from Washington. He said they would like to establish a base for the continuation (U) of their ideas in order to correlate what has happened. ~~X~~

NABRIED said that there is the usual amount of jealousy among the various organizations working on the March, but he believes they will be set aside "for this (U) historic event". ~~X~~

[redacted] commented on the situation in New Jersey, which he said was getting better. ~~X~~ (U)

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[redacted], in commenting on the March, said that the number represented will depend upon the amount of transportation available. He said the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has sponsored a train from Newark to Washington, D. C. and that buses will be sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and will leave for Washington from Lincoln Park in Newark, New Jersey. [redacted] in concluding his comments, stated that the most important thing is that following the March, the participating organizations will hold a conference and what will be decided there will be as important as the March itself. ~~X~~

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(U)

[redacted] said that the general picture he has regarding the March is that there will be a large number of young people attending. He said that a young person from Pittsburgh had written to him saying that between two and three thousand people are expected to go to Washington, D. C., by train and bus. [redacted] said the one big problem that has arisen is "What is our special role in all of this? We have people with a lot of enthusiasm working with people unrelated with us" ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

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LOUIS WEINSTOCK said the Party has to extend the distribution and sale of literature nationally, as well as to widen participation and to work harder. He said "we are loaded with literature but are unable to get one or two people to go out". He said that unfortunately this situation applies not only to New York but to all sections of the country. WEINSTOCK recommended that ten thousand copies of "The Worker" be distributed in various parts of the country, since there is to be no distribution in Washington, D. C. He also recommended that ten thousand pamphlet be sold at concentration points on the morning of August 28, 1963; the remainder to be sold after the demonstration. ~~X~~

(U)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS agreed that ten thousand copies of "The Worker" should be distributed as a Party enterprise. He said that as a result there could be a substantial increase in the paper's circulation, as well as a build-up for the Party. ~~X~~

(U)

DAVIS commented that [redacted] statement regarding the Negro Movement indicates a white chauvinist and a white supremacy attitude. DAVIS felt that [redacted] because of his attitude, is turning the Negro Movement over to the muslims and other extremists. He recommended that the Party call upon workers and labor leaders to repudiate [redacted] statement. At the same time "we" should defend A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and WALTER REUTHER's attitude. DAVIS was of the opinion that RANDOLPH would welcome a sharp criticism of [redacted] ~~X~~

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(U)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON commented that [redacted] action will have an effect not only in relation to the March, but also to its aftermath. He said it must be shown that [redacted] attitude does not reflect the attitude of the Trade Union Movement as a whole. ~~X~~

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(U)

PHIL BART stated that there has not been a comparable period in the past wherein hundreds of Communists will actually be together with tens of thousands of others in the March. He said efforts should be made to work with the idea of establishing connections with ~~X~~ forces.

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

JOSEPH BRANDT felt that as a result of this mobilization there will be a change in "our rank and file..." He said "our Party" has blended themselves in this Movement, and it is necessary to devote ourselves now to a more advanced role for "our forces". He said that the people going to the March are listening "to our people" so that the question is what can be done with these people after the March. ~~(S)~~ (U)

BRANDT also stated that an effort should be made to get twenty-five local unions to send telegrams condemning [redacted] but congratulating A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and WALTER REUTHER. ROBERT THOMPSON stated that any statement to be issued should not only be a condemnation (U) of [redacted] but that it must have a much broader concept. ~~(S)~~

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[NY T-2]  
August 14, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held August 21, 1963, in New York, pertaining to the forthcoming March on Washington. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The first item of discussion was the distribution of "The Worker" on August 28, 1963, at public transportation depots prior to the March on Washington. LOUIS WEINSTOCK, in speaking for "The Worker" refused to allow distribution of CP literature unless it is to be paid for, either by recipients or the CP itself. (U) Others present felt that free distribution was more ~~(S)~~ appropriate.

JOE BRANDT then introduced the thought that every CP leader and all CP Headquarters functionaries should be in Washington on August 28, 1963. He added the CP should issue a statement to effect GUS HALL and others will be participating in Washington on August 28, 1963, not because it is giving the March on Washington leadership, but because the March on Washington and/or the Negro Movement is an integral part of the CP's life. The statement should urge all Communists and friends of the CP to participate in the March on Washington. ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ROBERT THOMPSON : said the CP must in every way guard against provocation in connection with any CP participation in the March, but felt it was correct to emphasize the historic role of the CP in relation to the Negro movement. ~~(S)~~ (U)

BEN DAVIS stated he feels GUS HALL should be in Washington in order to register the fact that the CP is participating. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-2]  
August 21, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

(U) ~~(S)~~ New York District Leadership, CPUSA

At a meeting of the New York District CP Committee, held July 13, 1963, in New York, ROBERT THOMPSON presented a report on the civil rights issue. ~~(S)~~ (U)

THOMPSON stated the events in Birmingham, Alabama, have developed a change throughout the nation concerning the civil rights of the Negro people in regard to jobs, living conditions and education. Birmingham represents a victory for the Negro people and a demoralization for the South. ~~(S)~~ (U)

THOMPSON made mention of the March on Washington scheduled for August 28th and stated CP people should participate in this March to help the Negro people achieve their civil rights. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-4]  
July 17, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

At a meeting of members of the New York District CP staff held August 3, 1963, in New York, JAMES TORMEY stated he felt the staff should go over changes in the civil rights situation and some questions which arise. One of the questions enumerated by TORMEY was whether or not they ~~(S)~~ (U)

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should try to be more active in mobilization between then and August 28th, the scheduled date for the March on Washington. ~~X~~ (U)

During the ensuing discussion, BILL ALBERTSON said that he thinks they have to call attention to the impact which the March itself has now had on the country. ALBERTSON also said that they have to point out that the problem of Negro unemployed is not only a Harlem problem, it is also a problem on the Lower East Side, in Bedford Stuyvesant, and Coney Island. ~~X~~ (U)

ALBERTSON stated that he thinks that as long as picket lines are up, they should continue to support them. He thinks their position should be one of trying to get agreement among the Negro leaders. ~~X~~ (U)

As to the distribution of "The Worker" there will be 10,000 copies of the weekend edition of "The Worker" prior to the March. There will also be 5,000 pamphlets. "We" decided not to do anything in Washington. The distribution is to take place, before the March starts, in New York. Fifty percent of the total distribution will be in New York. Others will be air mailed to Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. The other 50 percent will then be divided between the other districts from Chicago east to Washington. ~~X~~ (U)

Distribution will take place at the point of embarkation in New York City. The comrades who are going on the March, will have completed their job before they get on their own train or bus. They are going to mobilize 100 people on the basis of the people's pledge to the county organizers. ~~X~~ (U)

NY T-5  
August 8, 1963 ~~X~~

(U)

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~  
At a meeting of the New York District CP Committee held August 10, 1963, in New York, JAMES TORMEY presented a report on the March on Washington which was a review of the activities up to that time. ~~X~~ (U)

TORMEY added that volunteer workers who would distribute copies of "The Worker" at the March on Washington were expected to distribute copies of the paper at all points of embarkment of buses and trains going to Washington, D. C. ~~X~~ (U)

X [ NY T-4  
August 13, 1963 ]

(U)

A meeting of the New York District CP staff was held August 26, 1963, at CP Headquarters, New York City. ~~X~~ (U)

ROBERT THOMPSON stated the main item to be discussed was the question of what follows the March on Washington. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON stated he felt that on the matter of the follow-up to the March there were tremendous possibilities. He said he felt this would be the most important period in the whole development of the Negro struggle. ~~X~~ (U)

ROBERT THOMPSON stated he felt the Party could not expect any great initiative from the leaders of the March on Washington to form a more permanent committee after the March. The Party, therefore, has to try to exert as much influence as it can. He said the immediate task for the New York District would be to try to transfer the forces and the enthusiasm built up around the March into an involvement in the fight around the school crisis. ~~X~~ (U)

JAMES TORMEY related that one thing they want to try is to institute massive reporting back within the neighborhoods. He continued that to the extent the Party can generate these report back meetings to that extent ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

they can create a condition where whatever has taken place will result in a greater struggle and greater participation. He said a continued struggle for job rights could be stressed and then, perhaps, the idea of having a central rally, such as at Madison Square Garden. ~~(U)~~

NY T-5  
August 26, 1963 ~~(U)~~

Local CP Activity, New York District

(U) ~~1.~~ Kings County CP Committee

A meeting of the Kings County CP Committee was held August 15, 1963, in Brooklyn, New York. ~~(U)~~

~~[ ]~~ presented a report on the March on Washington which represented a review of what had taken place in recent weeks concerning the plans of various unions, organizations and others with regard to the March on Washington. ~~(U)~~

~~[ ]~~ stated additionally the Party people who would distribute "The Worker" on August 28th at bus depots and railroad stations would meet at Adelphi Hall on August 26th to receive the paper, other literature and instructions. He said there was some confusion over whether the paper was to be given away free or whether it was to be sold. ~~(U)~~

NY T-4  
August 19, 1963 ~~(U)~~

(U) ~~2.~~ West Side CP Section

At a meeting of Club #1, West Side CP Section, held July 10, 1963, in New York, the prime topic of discussion was the Negro people's movement. It was started ~~(U)~~

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NY 100-153735

that the CP has made a great contribution to the present day struggle of the Negro people by organizing the Negro people; by demanding civil rights for the Negro people, and by exposing the inhuman exploitation of the Negro people. It was claimed that the CP has, is, and will continue to play a big role in the struggle for the liberation of the Negro people. ~~X~~ (U)

During the discussion, one of the individuals present stated that "as Communists, we should participate in every stage of the struggle of the Negro people. It is our duty to be on picket lines, demonstrations and sit-ins. We are the ones to show the white and Negro people that we are determined to fight for civil rights until these rights will be won". ~~X~~ (U)

Those present were further reminded of the March on Washington and it was proposed every member of the club should join the March and should also try to influence their families, friends and co-workers to participate in the March. Further, that those CP members working in peace organizations, especially the Women Strike for Peace should bring up the question of the March and try to influence this organization and the trade unions to participate. ~~X~~ (U)

NY T-5  
July 25, 1963 ~~X~~ (U)

At a meeting of the West Side CP Section held July 15, 1963, in New York, it was stated the most important future event to take place would be the March on Washington. It was stressed there should be a mobilization of CP Club members and these members should try, through the organizations to which they belong, to advance participation in the March. ~~X~~ (U)

NY T-7  
July 19, 1963 ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U)

3. Bronx County CP

~~SECRET~~

A joint meeting of the Bronx and [redacted] Clubs of the Bronx County CP was held July 25, 1963, at the Bronx Cultural Center, Bronx, New York.

(U)

One of the principal points on the agenda was the forthcoming March on Washington. In this regard, [redacted] stated this would be the biggest demonstration in Washington in years. ~~X~~

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The originators of the March. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, and a united Negro Committee consisting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), ROY WILKINS, Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING and many others, have planned the March as a peaceful demonstration and urge every person who can to attend. ~~X~~

(U)

It is imperative that others are urged to participate, friends, neighbors, mass organizations, church groups, etc., to make the March go down in history as a memorable day in the struggle for the freedom of the Negro people. ~~X~~

(U)

In conclusion, [redacted] urged everyone to visit the Negro organizations for leaflets, information and any other data needed to make the March on Washington a success and to contact any and all organizations to enlist their support for the March. ~~X~~

(U)

[NY T-8  
August 16, 1963]

~~X~~ (U)

At a meeting of the Southwest Club, Bronx County CP, held August 6, 1963, in the Bronx, New York, a brief report on the March on Washington was presented. It was stated everyone should attempt to go on the March and should attempt to persuade friends, neighbors, etc., to do likewise. It was further suggested it might be a good idea to get as many white persons to attend as possible as the trains and buses would be integrated to whatever extent possible. ~~X~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Leaflets relating to the March were distributed and the members present were urged to mail these to friends and to distribute the remainder.

[NY T-9]  
August 26, 1963] X (U)

(U) X 4. Harlem Region CP

At a meeting of the 11th A. D. Club, Harlem Region CP, held July 19, 1963, in New York, the March on Washington was discussed. It was stated this March was the most important task on hand and the members were advised as to how to make the necessary arrangements to attend. X (U)

[NY T-10]  
July 24, 1963] X (U)

At a meeting of the 11th A. D. Club, Harlem Region CP, held August 2, 1963, in New York, there was a general discussion regarding the August 28th March on Washington. X (U)

Leaders of the Club urged all club members to attend the March, however, they stated the CP had not been invited to participate in the March. Rather, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and ROY WILKINS had stated they did not want Communists. X (U)

Source related it was stated CP members should not go as Communists, but were to attend with church, union and other civic groups. In this way, they could be more effective in influencing people. X (U)

All club members were asked to attempt to influence non-Communist people to join in attending the March. X (U)

[NY T-11]  
August 5, 1963] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the 11th A.D. Club, Harlem Region CP, held August 2, 1963, [redacted] stated the March on Washington was proceeding favorably. He stated the Uptown Tenants Council, which he had organized, had arranged for one railroad car for the March and that the arrangements for this car were being handled by members of the 11th A.D. CP Club. [redacted] requested members of the 11th A.D. Club to attend the March and go as part of the Uptown Tenants Council. ~~(U)~~

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In response to a question as to whether or not the CP would be definitely identified with the March, [redacted] stated it was not advisable for the CP, USA to be directly identified with this "struggle," but it must participate in other groups. ~~(U)~~

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(U) ~~5.~~ Negro American Labor Council CP Caucus

At a CP caucus meeting relative to Negro American Labor Council (NALC) work, held July 20, 1963, in New York, JAMES TORMEY stated the main purpose of the meeting was to organize those individuals present into group for work in the NALC. He said the immediate task of this group was the NALC meeting scheduled for July 24, 1963, and that the group should concentrate on NALC work concerning the March on Washington. ~~(U)~~

NY T-12  
July 23, 1963 ~~(U)~~

JAMES TORMEY on July 23, 1963, indicated he had prepared a number of suggestions he desired the CP caucus group to present to the July 24, 1963 meeting of the NALC. TORMEY enumerated these suggestions as follows: ~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

1. Propose NALC distribute 100,000 leaflets concerning the August 28, 1963 march in Washington, D.C. TORMEY said that if help is needed in the distribution, "we" can bring in "outside forces". ~~the~~ (U)

2. Propose that an attachment be added to the leaflets already printed which would be a pledge to participate in the march or to pledge funds for expenses. ~~the~~ (U)

3. Propose that a speakers committee be formed to provide speakers to address church groups, unions, etc. concerning the march. TORMEY said that if this proposal is adopted, someone from the caucus group should be on the committee, or better still, be the chairman of the committee. ~~the~~ (U)

4. Propose that if the speakers committee is established, a list of the various unions in New York City be obtained along with a schedule of their meeting dates in order that NALC speakers could attend the various meetings to solicit support for the march. TORMEY said that this would serve to obtain union sanctions for the march or to get their representatives to take part in the march. ~~the~~ (U)

5. Propose that NALC delegates be sent to the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council to enlist their support for the march. TORMEY felt that the construction trades would probably support the march or take part in it so as not to gain the label of segregationists. ~~the~~ (U)

NY T-12  
July 23, 29, 1963] ~~the~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

At a CP caucus meeting relative to NALC work, held July 27, 1963, in New York, JAMES TORMEY stated the NALC represents Negro workers and the CP places major importance on the NALC. In the past, the CP has been lax in Negro work and will now correct that situation. His main job in the Party is now Negro and NALC work. (U)

The CP has to explain why large numbers of white people should participate in the March on Washington and all Party people must participate. (U)

The New York State District CP has suggested that among the items which should be brought up by the CP caucus group at NALC meetings are: (U)

1. The NALC should get out membership applications for local chapters which can be used for recruiting NALC members when talking to people about the August 28 march. (U)

2. There should be leaflets in the form of a pledge for participation in the March. (U)

3. There should be a speakers committee and an attempt should be made to get a member of the CP caucus group as Chairman of this committee. (U)

NY T-32  
July 28, 1963

(U)

At a meeting of the NALC CP caucus group held August 10, 1963, in New York, JAMES TORMEY spoke relative to the March on Washington. He stated the CP had decided to distribute copies of "The Worker" on August 28th at bus depots and railroad stations in New York rather than in Washington in order to avoid any possible incident. (U)

NY T-4  
August 13, 1963

(U)

~~SECRET~~

A meeting of the NALC CP caucus group was held August 18, 1963, in New York. The discussion at this meeting centered around what has been happening in various unions regarding plans for the March on Washington. ~~(S)~~ (U)

JAMES TORMEY stated the Puerto Rican people were not helping out as well as they should, however, he attributed this to the language barrier. TORMEY stated the white comrades should attempt to remedy this situation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-4]  
August 20, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

(U) ~~✓~~ 6. Advance and Burning Issues  
Youth Organizations

A meeting of Advance and Burning Issues Youth Organizations (ABI) was held at the Organizations club house, 80 Clinton Street, New York City, on August 13, 1963, to discuss the Organization's plans concerning the forthcoming March on Washington. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Members were urged to take part in the March and to recruit others to participate. In this connection, a committee was named to distribute leaflets in the Lower East Side section of Manhattan concerning the March. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Members were advised that the Organizations will not go to Washington as an official delegation but individual members were urged to make the trip through cooperation with the Lower East Side Neighborhood Association (U) who has been asked to charter three buses. ~~(S)~~

The Organization also agreed to carry out plans to set up tables in the vicinity of 80 Clinton Street on Saturday, August 17, 1963, to distribute leaflets concerning the March. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-27]  
August 15, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

Source advised that the Advance Youth Organization (Advance) and the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee (PYOC) have arranged for two buses for the purpose of joining in the March on Washington. These arrangements were made through lawyers for CORE in New York City and will, officially, be part of the pool of buses assigned to the Lower East Side Neighborhood Association. Approximately sixty youth from Advance and PYOC are expected to participate. ~~X~~ (U)

NY T-28  
August 21, 1963

(U)

#### 7. Other New York Meetings

GUS HALL, on the evening of July 11, 1963, spoke on the topic, "A Policy for Victory," held at Central Plaza Hall, 111 Second Avenue, New York City. ~~X~~ (U)

In his speech, HALL spoke of the current Negro situation. He stated the Negro people are on the move all over the country through demonstrations, marches, walks, etc. He stated the reaction from these demonstrations has been so forceful, the President issued a proposal for the passage of a broad civil rights program in the immediate future by Congress. HALL elaborated on the various aspects of the Negro people's freedom march and urged that everyone support this broad movement. ~~X~~ (U)

HALL continued the role of the Communist Party has been an excellent role. It has guarded against pitfalls, has shown militancy and good leadership, and all mass actions in the past have had CP leadership to shape their form with a program of unity. ~~X~~ (U)

Following HALL'S speech, BILL ALBERTSON reiterated the importance of the Negro people's movement. He stated that every person who could walk or crawl should participate in the August 28th March on Washington. He urged everyone ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

to return to their communities and organize the people (U)  
to participate in the March on Washington. ~~X~~

~~SECRET~~

NY T-8  
July 18, 1963

NY T-13  
July 17, 1963

NY T-14  
July 16, 1963

~~X~~ (U)

A meeting of "The Worker" Bazaar Committee was (U)  
held July 29, 1963, at Adelphi Hall, New York City. ~~X~~

JAMES E. JACKSON stated the August 28th March on (U)  
Washington would be a big event in history and would surpass  
the Bonus and Employment marches of the 1930's. He said  
those present at this meeting should not wait until  
August 28th to begin distributing "The Worker", but it  
should be started now. ~~X~~

LOUIS WEINSTOCK stated those individuals who (U)  
were participating in picket lines should also distribute  
the paper. WEINSTOCK further announced "The Worker" would  
charter a bus to transport those persons who would distribute  
"The Worker" to Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963. ~~X~~

It was mentioned the Negro leaders had issued (U)  
instructions that no papers, leaflets, pamphlets, etc.,  
were to be distributed during the March on Washington. It  
was suggested "The Worker" consult these Negro leaders to  
secure their permission prior to any distribution of "The  
Worker". ~~X~~

NY T-14  
August 8, 1963

~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, on August 19, 1963, spoke before a special "Worker" Readers Conference held at Adelphi Hall, New York City. FLYNN'S speech related to the significance of the March on Washington. ~~(S)~~

(U)

In her remarks, ~~FLYNN~~ stated the significance of this March was to dramatize the Negro situation and the need for legislative action. She specifically stated the claim has been made the Communists are responsible for and control the March. FLYNN denied this was true, stating the CP had been interested in the Negro situation long before the March on Washington was planned. FLYNN devoted the remainder of her remarks to the Negro question in general. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-15  
August 20, 1963] ~~(S)~~

(U)

Sources substantiated the above information, however, they added that LOUIS WEINSTOCK additionally stated "The Worker" and other literature would be distributed at bus and train terminals in New York to those people going to Washington, D.C. on August 28th, and that 10,000 extra copies of the paper would be printed for distribution. According to WEINSTOCK, once in Washington "The Worker" and other literature is not to be displayed nor distributed. This is in accordance with the wishes of the Negro leaders. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-14  
August 20, 1963] ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-16  
August 20, 1963] ~~(S)~~

Source advised that on the evening of August 26, 1963, a meeting was held of a small group of individuals associated with "The Worker". Attendance at this meeting was restricted to those receiving oral invitations. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Greater New York Press Club in ~~in~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

room 10G, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Approximately twenty persons were in attendance. The meeting was listed with Adelphi Hall as a meeting of the "Bazaar Committee". LOUIS WEINSTOCK, (U) whom source identified as the Business Manager of "The Worker", presided. ~~(S)~~

WEINSTOCK advised that the meeting was called to organize the sale of "The Worker" to those participating in the March on Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963. He further advised that copies would be sold in Washington, D.C. Originally one hundred volunteers had been requested to engage in the sale of "The Worker" and other communist publications. This material is to be sold at the bus sites and New York City train stations to those departing for Washington on the morning of August 28, 1963. The unsold copies are to be taken aboard the buses and trains by those participating in the march and to be sold in Washington. Source stated that at least five-thousand copies had been set aside for this purpose. WEINSTOCK also related, in a private conversation, that he would travel to Washington and would have ten-thousand copies of the paper as an additional supply. He stated he anticipated he would be able to get around in the crowds because of a "pass" he had in his possession. Source thought this may have been a press pass but was uncertain. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-17  
August 27, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

Activity in Other Districts

(U) ~~1.~~ Baltimore, Maryland

GUS HALL spoke at a CP meeting held July 16, 1963, in Baltimore, Maryland. He stated the CP, USA must play a major role in the demonstrations to take place August 28, 1963, in Washington, D.C. He said trade union leaders and ministers should participate in these events. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-18  
July 22, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 300-153795

At a CP meeting held July 22, 1963, in Baltimore, Maryland [redacted] stated, with regard to the March on Washington, all Negro organizations should be coordinated so the March would be well organized. He directed the CP try to set up a coordinating committee which would involve all the local Negro organizations.

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[redacted] stated the CP trade union members should see their union representatives and stir up interest in the March.

[redacted] said the March was very important and would serve to push Congress and would result in the passage of President KENNEDY'S civil rights program. ~~(U)~~

NY T-18  
August 1, 1963 ~~(U)~~

(U) ~~2. Chicago, Illinois~~

A meeting of the State Board, CP of Illinois, was held July 23, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois. It was disclosed the efforts of the Illinois CP would be directed to attempting to get from 300 to 400 people, Party members and sympathizers, mobilized to attend the March on Washington ~~(U)~~

In this connection, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated every possible CP member should go to Washington and participate in the March, even giving up a vacation to attend ~~(U)~~ ~~(U)~~

GUS HALL, who was present, agreed completely and stated full Party participation in the March on Washington was most important ~~(U)~~ ~~(U)~~

NY T-19  
July 24, 1963 ~~(U)~~

Source advised a CP meeting was held July 27, 1963, in Chicago, Illinois, to hear a lecture by GUS HALL. This meeting was attended by the key leadership of the CP of Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota ~~(U)~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

In his remarks, HALL stated that on the domestic scene one of the main currents guiding the direction of the United States is the Negro people's freedom movement. This movement is shaping the destiny of every other struggle in this country. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

HALL stated the CP's ~~outlook~~ is that there is a crystallization of a people's democratic alliance taking place in this country. He stated the economic questions that come to the fore will project this alliance into an anti-monopoly alliance. The "left" and the CP must help to guide and give direction to this alliance. He said that when the Party speaks of unity of the left, it speaks of unity for the purpose of participating and helping to mold this developing alliance. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-20  
July 27, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

Source advised that in addition to the above remarks, HALL called for the mobilization of the entire CP membership in support of the March on Washington, and called for as many as possible to attend the March. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-21  
July 27, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

(U) ~~X~~ 3. Detroit, Michigan

At a meeting of the Polish-Bulgarian CP Club, Michigan CP District, held August 23, 1963, in Detroit, Michigan, the March on Washington was discussed. ~~X~~ (U)

It was stated there is a lack of aggressiveness on the part of the leadership of the March. Further, the March is very important and all should participate and give the March more of a radical character to show CP leadership in it. It was stated additionally that CP members do not ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

understand the opportunities this struggle offers to the Party and, as a result, the Party cannot reap all the fruits from this struggle. X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY T-22

[August 26, 1963] X

(U)

(U) X [4. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]

On July 22, 1963, a meeting of the West Philadelphia Branch, Independent Citizens Committee (ICC), was held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. X (U)

The meeting had a one point agenda, namely, the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. Those present agreed that since the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the CORE would contact churches, fraternal organizations, etc., that the ICC's role would be to contact people who are not members of groups which would be contacted by NAACP and CORE. This will be done by door-to-door canvassing to recruit persons to participate in the March, also to collect donations to defray travel expenses of unemployed persons who wish to take part. X (U)

Following further discussion, the West Philadelphia Branch, ICC, decided that the following proposals, among others, be submitted to the Executive Board, ICC:

1. That an emergency meeting of ICC be called for August 3, 1963, to "get things moving".
2. That the "concentration areas" be West Philadelphia and North Philadelphia.
3. That a sound truck be utilized during canvassing.
4. That leaflets be prepared for distribution explaining the importance of the March in the event such leaflets are not available from NAACP, CORE, or other participating groups.

NY T-23

[July 25, 1963] X

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

THOMAS NABRIED, on July 23, 1963, spoke before a press meeting of the Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD) held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. ~~(S)~~ (U)

In speaking of the March on Washington, NABRIED said CP concentration should be on two things; first, organizing CP people to go; secondly, placing emphasis on getting white people to participate. He said that if only a sprinkling of white people attend, it will be a catastrophe. NABRIED stressed that since Party people are in touch with a large number of white progressives, contacts must be made with these people and the importance of their participation emphasized. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-23  
July 25, 1963] ~~(S)~~

(U)

The Socialist Youth Union held a meeting on July 26, 1963, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

The chairman of the meeting outlined the purpose of the August 28 demonstration in Washington, D.C. He said the demonstration was being staged to obtain more and better jobs for Negroes, to oppose the civil rights legislation filibuster and to fight "Jim Crow" and discrimination. A general floor discussion was held as to the course of action relative to SYU participation.

It was decided that the steering committee would meet every Tuesday and that the SYU would continue to meet every Friday evening at the SYU clubhouse, 1426 West Bristol Street, Philadelphia, without further notice until after the August 28 demonstration in Washington, D.C.

There was some mention made of contacting other organizations.

[NY T-24  
July 29, 1963] ~~(S)~~

(U)

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GUS HALL was the featured speaker on the subject "Looking Toward Victory" on the evening of July 31, 1963, at the Pennsylvania Room of the Sheraton Motor Inn, 3900 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Attendance was by invitation only and a majority of the 65 to 70 persons present were known to the source to be Communist Party members.

(U)

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HALL devoted approximately five minutes to a discussion of the August 28, 1963 March on Washington. He addressed his remarks particularly to white comrades, stating that it is imperative that as many white people as possible participate in the March. He said that many people will be watching to see if there is unity between whites and Negroes at the time the March is held. For this reason, it is essential that white comrades participate and that as many white non-comrades as possible be induced to take part.

(U)

HALL said that the August 28 March on Washington in itself is revolutionary in character; that if there is any peaceful march toward socialism, the August 28, 1963 affair is a good indication of this peaceful transition.

(U)

HALL said that Lenin teaches that in the struggle for socialism, "we" must first attempt to create democratic institutions. HALL said that the Negroes' fight toward creation of equal civil rights and democratic institutions can lead toward socialism.

(U)

Source stated that the August 28, 1963 March on Washington has been discussed from the district to the club level, CPEPD, and that CP leaders are emphasizing that as many CP members as possible participate in the March. Both THOMAS NABRIED, Chairman, and [redacted] Organization [redacted] CPEPD, have stated that as many white people as possible should take part. The source added that the CP Youth Club, however, is the only club within the CPEPD which is taking an active role to date. The center of their activity is being carried on at the SYU clubhouse, 1426 West Bristol Street, Philadelphia.

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(U)

[NY T-25  
August 1, 1963]

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Source advised that according to THOMAS NABRIED, the CPEPD is working with legitimate organizations, such as CORE, the NAACP and church organizations. The CP is working with these groups in an effort to make the March a success. According to NABRIED, this is typical throughout the country and follows CP policy. NABRIED added that the same technique is being used in New York City. ~~SECRET SOURCE~~ (U)

NABRIED also stated that the JCC has been very active in the Philadelphia area in support of the March on Washington. This group has worked particularly in West and North Philadelphia and has utilized a soundtruck and has also had a telephone brigade in an effort to obtain participants in the March on Washington and to obtain funds to pay for the transportation for those unable to do so. ~~X~~ (U)

(U) ~~5.~~ Portland, Oregon

Source advised that at a meeting of the Oregon State CP Board, held July 28, 1963, in Portland, Oregon, [redacted] referred to plans underway to organize a contingent from the Portland area for a "freedom train" excursion from Portland to Washington, D.C., for participation in the NAACP-sponsored demonstration to be held there on August 28, 1963. [redacted] disclosed that he was taking an active part in organizing a local "freedom train", which would involve the NAACP, the Urban League, labor, peace and church groups in Portland. [redacted] further indicated that a local group of which he is a part, unnamed, is trying to form a coordinating committee involving the above groups. The coordinating committee is also as yet unnamed. ~~X~~ (U)

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[NY T-26  
July 29, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

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Activity of "The Worker"

"The Worker", issue of July 2, 1963, on page 1, contained an article captioned "Rights Leaders Map Unified Capital March." ~~SECRET~~

This article reflects Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING had reiterated his call "upon all people of good will from every section of the country and from every state" to join in "a non-violent, peaceful march on Washington."

The article quoted Dr. KING as calling for participation in the March by "the hundreds of thousands."

"The Worker", issue of July 7, 1963, contained, on page 1, an article by JAMES E. JACKSON, entitled, "A Fighting People Forging New Unity."

In this article, JACKSON reviews the massive upsurge of the Negro masses to secure their full rights as American citizens. He writes that the movement's unity was dramatically affirmed when Negro leaders affirmed the determination to proceed with the August 28, 1963 March on Washington.

In conclusion, JACKSON writes, "Anti-communism can only foster divisionism in the ranks of the movement at a time when the paramount resolution of all conscious forces are striving to enhance its unity for victory in the sharp battles that still are to be fought in order to consolidate gains made and to secure full freedom.

"The Negro freedom movement stands on the threshold of a great victory. In the mighty revolutionary upsurge of the Negro masses against segregation and discrimination, social forces are being activated, fighting alliances of the common people are being forged such as will carry our nation forward to a genuine new birth of democracy, of peoples' well-being, social progress and peace."

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", issue of July 16, 1963, page 1, contained an editorial captioned, "Toward the Aug. 28 March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom."

This editorial cites the importance of the March to the Negro freedom movement and urges that every reader of the paper to do all in their power to make the Washington mobilization a huge success and a new landmark for social progress and Negro freedom in the history of the United States.

"The Worker", issue of July 21, 1963, page 3, contained an editorial entitled, "Jim Crow and Red Herring."

This editorial stresses that, "The selfless, and often pioneering, role of the Communists in the struggle for the freedom and equal rights of the Negro people is unmatched by the members of any other political party in American life. The Communists, Negro and white, set a standard of leadership and service in the fight for the just rights of the Negro people that is only now being matched by numerous other forces and organizations."

The editorial goes on to state, "Indeed, in the entire phase of the modern history of the Negro freedom struggle, the Communists have always played, and always will play, an honorable and dedicated role. The Communist Party of the U.S. wholeheartedly supports the just struggle of the Negro people for freedom and integration in the political, economic and social life of the nation."

"The Worker", issue of July 23, 1963, contained an editorial entitled, "Celler's Slow Down," which related to the attempt of Representative EMANUEL CELLER of New York to discourage participation in the August 28 March on Washington by representatives of the Negro people.

The editorial reflects the March on Washington and the preparations for that historic occasion will provide the best stimulus for affirmative action by Congress on civil rights.

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", issue of August 18, 1963, page 6, contained an article by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT entitled, "New Era Dawns for Negro People After Century of Struggle."

In this article, LIGHTFOOT writes that the August 28 March on Washington and other demonstrative actions must have as a focal point preparations for the 1964 elections.

In citing various elements of a political action program for 1964, LIGHTFOOT states that among the issues the Negro freedom movement should concentrate on is the immediate, all out support of and participation in the March on Washington.

In conclusion, LIGHTFOOT wrote that Communists will contribute everything they possibly can to forging unity in the struggle for these immediate goals of the Negro freedom movement.

"The Worker", issue of August 20, 1963, page 3, contained an article entitled, "Patterson Assails Racists' Attempt to Redbait March."

In this article, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON writes that Communists are unalterably opposed to racism in any manner. Concerning the March on Washington, PATTERSON states provocations will undoubtedly be made charging the infiltration and capture of the movement by Communists.

He writes, "No such provocation must move any person from the struggle to achieve the aims and purposes of this March and the campaigns of struggle which everywhere will be aided and inspired by it.

"For the unity of all forces seeking the destruction of racism and the political power of racists we must devote our greatest efforts."

~~SECRET~~

"The Worker", issue of August 25, 1963,  
was devoted almost entirely to the March on Washington  
and the Negro people's freedom movement. It contains,  
among others, the following articles:

| <u>Article</u>   | <del>SECRET</del> | <u>Author</u> |
|--|-------------------|---------------|
| "Negro-White Marchers"<br>Mandate to Congress:<br>Freedom and Jobs Now!" | <del>SECRET</del> | T. R. BASSETT |
| "Masses to Congress:<br>On Rights and Jobs,<br>'Advise and Consent'"     | Editorial         |               |
| "In the Battle for Jobs<br>and Negro Freedom"                            | GUS HALL          |               |
| "Anti-Communism vs.<br>Freedom's Cause"                                  | BENJAMIN J. DAVIS |               |
| "The Basis for Inter-<br>Class Unity In Negro<br>Freedom Movement"       | JAMES E. JACKSON  |               |

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IDENTITIES OF INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED  
BOARDING TRANSPORTATION MEDIA DESTINED  
FOR WASHINGTON, D.C., AND THE MARCH ON  
WASHINGTON, AUGUST 28, 1963, WHO ARE  
MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, FORMER  
MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, OR  
CONCERNING WHOM SUBVERSIVE INFORMATION  
IS AVAILABLE

Current Members of the Communist Party.

The following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI boarding transportation media on August 28, 1963, at the point indicated, bound for Washington, D.C.:

| Name               | Departure Point                              | Mode of Travel     |
|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| [REDACTED]         | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train              |
| CONNIE BART        | " " " "                                      | " " " "            |
| [REDACTED]         | Queens, New York                             | Bus                |
| [REDACTED]         | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train              |
| BETTY GANNETT      | New York City                                | Private automobile |
| [REDACTED]         | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train              |
| EUGENE GORDON, SR. | " " " "                                      | " " " "            |
| [REDACTED]         | " " " "                                      | " " " "            |

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

| Name                            | Departure Point   | Mode of Travel     |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------------|
|                                 | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City                  | Train              |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | Port Authority Bus Terminal, New York City                    | Bus                |
|                                 | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City                  | Train              |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | Queens, New York Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Bus                |
|                                 | "   | Train              |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
| ROBERT THOMPSON<br>JAMES TORMEY | New York City   | Private automobile |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City                  | Train              |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
| ALEX ZAROFF                     | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |
|                                 | "   | "                  |

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In connection with ROBERT THOMPSON, JAMES TORMEY and BETTY GANNETT, source advised THOMPSON planned to attend (U) the March on Washington and would leave New York City, on August 27, 1963, in a car driven by JAMES TORMEY, ~~X~~

[ NY T-50  
August 27, 1963 ] ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

The following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI boarding transportation media outside New York City, on August 28, 1963:

| Name | Departure Point         | Mode of Travel |
|------|-------------------------|----------------|
|      | Newark, New Jersey      | Bus            |
|      | "                       | "              |
|      | Carteret, New Jersey    | "              |
|      | Newark, New Jersey      | Train          |
|      | "                       | "              |
|      | Neptune, New Jersey     | Bus            |
|      | "                       | "              |
|      | "                       | "              |
|      | Newark, New Jersey      | Train          |
|      | Peekskill, New York     | Bus            |
|      | Newark, New Jersey      | "              |
|      | Ridgefield, Connecticut | "              |
|      | Newark, New Jersey      | "              |

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The following individuals were observed boarding or on transportation media on August 28, 1963, bound for Washington, D.C., by the source indicated:

| Name | Departure Point                                 | Source  | Date Furnished        |
|------|---|---------|-----------------------|
|      | Bronx, New York                                 | NY T-40 | September 14,<br>1963 |
|      | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City              | NY T-28 | September 3,<br>1963  |
|      | "   | NY T-28 | September 3,<br>1963  |
|      | Pennsylvania Railroad<br>Station, New York City | NY T-12 | September 19,<br>1963 |
|      | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City              | NY T-28 | September 3,<br>1963  |
|      | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City              | NY T-28 | September 3,<br>1963  |
|      | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City              | NY T-28 | September 3,<br>1963  |

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NY 100-153735

| Name | Departure Point   | Source  | Date Furnished     |
|------|---|---------|--------------------|
|      | Pennsylvania Railroad NY T-35<br>Station, New York City         |         | August 29, 1963    |
|      | " <del>NY T-32</del> NY T-32                                    |         | August 29, 1963    |
|      | " <del>NY T-33</del> NY T-33                                    |         |                    |
|      | " <del>NY T-35</del> NY T-35                                    |         | August 29, 1963    |
|      | 80 Clinton Street, NY T-28<br>New York City                     | NY T-28 | September 3, 1963  |
|      | 80 Clinton Street NY T-28<br>New York City                      | NY T-28 | September 3, 1963  |
|      | Pennsylvania Railroad NY T-35<br>Station, New York City         | NY T-35 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | " NY T-35   |         | (U)                |
|      | 80 Clinton Street NY T-28<br>New York City                      | NY T-28 | September 3, 1963  |
|      | Pennsylvania Railroad NY T-35<br>Station, New York City         | NY T-35 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | Bronx, New York NY T-40   | NY T-40 | September 19, 1963 |
|      | " NY T-40   | NY T-40 | September 19, 1963 |
|      | Pennsylvania Railroad NY T-12<br>Station, New York City NY T-35 | NY T-12 | September 19, 1963 |
|      | " NY T-12   | NY T-12 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | " NY T-35   | NY T-35 | September 19, 1963 |
|      | " NY T-35   | NY T-35 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | " NY T-35   | NY T-35 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | 80 Clinton Street NY T-28<br>New York City                      | NY T-28 | September 3, 1963  |
|      | Pennsylvania Railroad NY T-35<br>Station, New York City         | NY T-35 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | 80 Clinton Street NY T-28<br>New York City                      | NY T-28 | September 3, 1963  |

In addition to the above, source reported IRVING POTASH had indicated he intended to participate in the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. ~~X~~ (U)

NY T-48  
August 23, 1963 ~~X~~

(U)

NY 100-153735

Former Members of the Communist Party

The following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI boarding transportation media on August 28, 1963, at the point indicated, bound for Washington, D.C.:

| Name   | Departure Point                              | Mode of Travel |
|--|--|----------------|
| ALBERT E. PLUMBERG                           | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train          |
|  | "  | "              |
|  | "  | "              |
|  | "  | "              |
|  | "  | "              |
|  | Queens, New York                             | Bus            |
|  | Jamaica, New York                            | "              |
|  | "  | "              |
|  | "  | "              |
|  | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train          |
| "  | "  |                |
| "  | "  |                |
| "  | "  |                |
| "  | "  |                |
| "  | "  |                |
| "  | "  |                |
| "  | "  |                |
| Staten Island, New York                      | Bus  |                |
| Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train  |                |
| Staten Island, New York                      | Bus  |                |
| Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train  |                |
| Queens, New York                             | Bus  |                |
| Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train  |                |
| Jamaica, New York                            | Bus  |                |
| Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | Train  |                |
| Brooklyn, New York                           | Bus  |                |

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| <u>Name</u> | <u>Departure Point</u>                          | <u>Mode of Travel</u> |
|-------------|---|-----------------------|
| [REDACTED]  | Pennsylvania Railroad<br>Station, New York City | Train                 |
|             | "   | "                     |
|             | Jamaica, New York                               | Bus                   |

The following individuals were observed boarding or on transportation media on August 23, 1963, bound for Washington, D.C., by the source indicated:

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Departure Point</u>                          | <u>Source</u> | <u>Date Furnished</u> |
|-------------|---|---------------|-----------------------|
| [REDACTED]  | Brooklyn, New York                              | NY T-29       | September 4,<br>1963  |
|             | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City              | NY T-28       | September 3,<br>1963  |
|             | Brooklyn, New York                              | NY T-29       | September 4,<br>1963  |
|             | Pennsylvania Railroad<br>Station, New York City | NY T-35       | August 29, 1963       |

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c. Individuals Concerning Whom Subversive Information is Available

The following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI boarding transportation media on August 28, 1963, at the point indicated, bound for Washington, D.C.:

| <u>Name</u>              | <u>Departure Point</u>                          | <u>Mode of Travel</u> |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| DOROTHY ROSE<br>BLUMBERG | Pennsylvania Railroad<br>Station, New York City | Train                 |
|                          | "   | "                     |
|                          | Brooklyn, New York                              | Bus                   |
|                          | Pennsylvania Railroad<br>Station, New York City | Train                 |
|                          | "   | "                     |
|                          | "   | "                     |
|                          | Queens, New York                                | Bus                   |
|                          | Pennsylvania Railroad<br>Station, New York City | Train                 |

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NY 100-153735

The following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI boarding transportation media outside New York City, on August 28, 1963:

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Departure Point</u> | <del>SECRET</del> | <u>Mode of Travel</u> |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| [REDACTED]  | Paterson, New Jersey   |                   | Bus                   |
|             | Newark, New Jersey     |                   | Train                 |
|             | Peekskill, New York    |                   | Bus                   |

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The following individuals were observed boarding or on transportation media on August 28, 1963, bound for Washington, D.C., by the source indicated:

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Departure Point</u>                       | <u>Source</u> | <u>Date Furnished</u> |
|-------------|--|---------------|-----------------------|
| [REDACTED]  | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | NY T-35       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City           | NY T-28       | September 3,<br>1963  |
|             | Pennsylvania Railroad Station, New York City | NY T-35       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City           | NY T-28       | September 3,<br>1963  |
|             | "  | NY T-28       | September 3,<br>1963  |
|             | Brooklyn, New York                           | NY T-29       | September 4,<br>1963  |
|             | "  | NY T-29       | September 4,<br>1963  |
|             | 80 Clinton Street<br>New York City           | NY T-28       | September 3,<br>1963  |

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IDENTITIES OF INDIVIDUALS OBSERVED  
PARTICIPATING IN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON,  
AUGUST 28, 1963, WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, FORMER MEMBERS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY, OR CONCERNING WHOM  
SUBVERSIVE INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE

Current Members of the Communist Party ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The following individuals were observed by Special Agents of the FBI in attendance at the March on Washington, August 28, 1963:

PHIL BART  
JOSEPH BRANDT  
GUS HALL  
JAMES E. JACKSON  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
  
JOSEPH NOROH  
LOUIS WEINSTOCK

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The following individuals were identified by the source indicated as having attended the March on Washington, August 28, 1963:

| Name | Source  | Date Furnished     |
|------|---------|--------------------|
|      | NY T-22 | September 28, 1963 |
|      | NY T-55 | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-17 | September 19, 1963 |
|      | NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-55 | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-55 | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-57 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-57 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-32 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-33 | August 29, 1963    |

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NY 100-153735

Name

CONNIE BART

BEN DAVIS

TOMMY DENNIS

JAMES E. JACKSON  
CONRAD KOMOROWSKI

Source

Date Furnished

NY T-36 August 29, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-53 September 5, 1963  
NY T-53 ~~SECRET~~ September 5, 1963  
NY T-57 August 29, 1963  
NY T-56 September 5, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-55 September 5, 1963  
NY T-35 August 29, 1963  
NY T-14 August 30, 1963  
NY T-14 August 30, 1963  
NY T-35 August 29, 1963  
NY T-36 August 29, 1963  
NY T-17 September 19, 1963  
NY T-22 September 28, 1963  
NY T-22 September 28, 1963  
NY T-22 September 28, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-58 September 5, 1963  
NY T-55 September 5, 1963  
NY T-35 August 29, 1963  
NY T-44 September 18, 1963  
NY T-54 August 30, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-55 September 5, 1963  
NY T-32 August 29, 1963  
NY T-33 August 29, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-55 September 5, 1963  
NY T-58 September 5, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-55 September 5, 1963  
NY T-54 August 30, 1963  
NY T-49 September 4, 1963  
NY T-37 September 19, 1963  
NY T-22 September 28, 1963  
NY T-23 August 29, 1963  
NY T-55 September 5, 1963

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| <u>Name</u> | <u>Source</u> | <u>Date Furnished</u> |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-14       | August 30, 1963       |
|             | NY T-44       | September 18, 1963    |
|             | NY T-14       | August 30, 1963       |
|             | NY T-49       | September 4, 1963     |
|             | NY T-49       | September 4, 1963     |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-56       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-14       | August 30, 1963       |
|             | NY T-40       | September 19, 1963    |
|             | NY T-11       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-22       | September 28, 1963    |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-58       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-22       | September 28, 1963    |
|             | NY T-22       | September 28, 1963    |
|             | NY T-22       | September 28, 1963    |
|             | NY T-23       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-55       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-58       | September 5, 1963     |
|             | NY T-32       | August 29, 1963       |
|             | NY T-33       | August 29, 1963       |

THOMAS NABRIED

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NY 100-153735.

Name

Source

Date Furnished

|         |                    |
|---------|--------------------|
| NY T-51 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-12 | September 19, 1963 |
| NY T-52 | September 6, 1963  |
| NY T-49 | September 4, 1963  |
| NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-55 | September 5, 1963  |
| NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-55 | September 5, 1963  |
| NY T-43 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-14 | August 30, 1963    |
| NY T-32 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-33 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-12 | September 19, 1963 |
| NY T-14 | August 30, 1963    |
| NY T-4  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-23 | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-55 | September 5, 1963  |

~~SECRET~~

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B. Former Members of the Communist Party

The following individuals were identified by the source indicated as having attended the March on Washington, August 28, 1963:

Name

Source

Date Furnished

|          |                    |
|----------|--------------------|
| NY T-14  | August 30, 1963    |
| NY T-14  | September 18, 1963 |
| NY T-32  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-33  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-106 | September 9, 1963  |
| NY T-55  | September 5, 1963  |
| NY T-32  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-33  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-56  | September 5, 1963  |
| NY T-30  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-32  | August 29, 1963    |
| NY T-33  | August 29, 1963    |

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NY 100-153735

| Name | Source  | Date Furnished     |
|------|---------|--------------------|
|      | NY T-44 | September 18, 1963 |
|      | NY T-14 | August 30, 1963    |
|      | NY T-30 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-56 | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-32 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-33 | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-14 | August 30, 1963    |
|      | NY T-14 | August 30, 1963    |
|      | NY T-12 | September 19, 1963 |
|      | NY T-14 | August 30, 1963    |

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C. Individuals Concerning Whom Subversive Information Is Available

The following individuals were identified by the source indicated as having attended the March on Washington, August 28, 1963:

| Name | Source   | Date Furnished     |
|------|----------|--------------------|
|      | NY T-56  | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-56  | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-14  | August 30, 1963    |
|      | NY T-41  | September 19, 1963 |
|      | NY T-42  | September 19, 1963 |
|      | NY T-12  | September 19, 1963 |
|      | NY T-30  | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-106 | September 9, 1963  |
|      | NY T-36  | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-29  | September 4, 1963  |
|      | NY T-56  | September 5, 1963  |
|      | NY T-32  | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-33  | August 29, 1963    |
|      | NY T-29  | September 4, 1963  |
|      | NY T-44  | September 18, 1963 |
|      | NY T-12  | September 19, 1963 |

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NY 100-153735

In addition to the above, the following is noted:

CONNIE BART commented she had observed JACK STACHEL,  
MIKE [redacted] in attendance at the March on Washington.

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~~SECRET~~

[NY T-47]  
August 29, 1963]

(U)

The records of the Northwest Airlines, Seattle, Washington, reflect that [redacted] left on Flight Number 80 at 12:20 a.m., August 28, 1963, for Washington, D.C., to arrive at Dulles Airport. He had reservations to leave Washington, D.C., on the same date.

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[redacted] and [redacted] attended the March on Washington. They did not represent any organization but part of their assignment was to sell Communist newspapers and literature at the bus sites and in Washington, D.C., in accordance with previous instructions received for the Greater New York Press Club. ~~(X)~~

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b7C

They had with them 100 copies of "The Worker" and various CP pamphlets which they began to sell at about 3:00 p.m. when the March on Washington began to break up. They sold these items until about 5:30 p.m. and were completely sold out when they left. Proceeds from the sale in the amount of \$25.00 were turned over to "The Worker". ~~(X)~~

(U)

[NY T-17]  
September 19, 1963]

(U)

On September 7, 1963, JAMES TORMEY stated he had driven to Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, with his wife, BETTY GANNETT, and ROBERT THOMPSON, to attend the March on Washington. He said he met GUS HALL in Washington, D.C., and that most of the CP leadership was in attendance at the March. ~~(X)~~

(U)

TORMEY added that the reason he and most of the CP leadership went by car was so they would not attach any stigma to the March on Washington. ~~(X)~~

(U)

[NY T-12]  
September 12, 1963]

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

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Deputy Chief [redacted]  
[redacted] Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D.C..  
on September 13, 1963, made available to SA [redacted]  
a card index which, he advised, contained the names and  
affiliations of individuals who had applied for and received  
press cards to attend the Civil Rights March on Washington.  
This was held at Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963.

Among these cards was one for PAUL NOVICK, the  
"Morning Freiheit", Press Card 1136. ~~SECRET~~

No instructions or directives were issued by the  
officials of the CP of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware  
(CPEPD) to any members of the CPEPD in regard to the March  
on Washington. It is believed that the CPEPD and the CPUSA  
did not have any significant part or influence in the  
August 28, 1963 demonstration, but seemed to be content to (U)  
merely take part. \*

[NY T-53]  
September 5, 1963] X (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated on September 10, 1963, that  
she had attended the March on Washington. ← (U)

[NY T-105]  
September 11, 1963] X (U)

b6  
b7C

On September 17, 1963, [redacted] congratulated  
[redacted] for having brought members of a tenants  
association to the March on Washington. \*

[NY T-35]  
September 18, 1963] X (U)

b6  
b7C

On September 4, 1963, [redacted]  
stated they had attended the March on Washington. X (U)

[NY T-49]  
September 5, 1963] X (U)

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

"Laisve", a semi-weekly Lithuanian language newspaper, published in New York, in its issue of August 30, 1963, page 1, column 5, contains an article which reflects that A. BTMBA attended the March on Washington as a representative of "Laisve".  
~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

MANNER IN WHICH CP MEMBERS PARTICIPATED IN  
MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The following sources attended the March on Washington on August 28, 1963. These sources reported that the March was an entirely peaceful affair with no incidents occurring, and that they observed no attempt by the Communist Party or its members to influence the March or its participants.

These sources further advised that on the return trip to New York by various modes of transportation, the main theme of discussion among the returnees was the effectiveness of the March and the quality of the speeches made, particularly that of Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING.

Sources related they did not participate in the March as CP members, but rather as passive participants.

NY T-4  
September 18, 1963

NY T-29  
September 18, 1963

NY T-30  
September 18, 1963

NY T-31  
September 18, 1963

NY T-32  
September 17, 1963

NY T-33  
September 17, 1963

NY T-34  
August 29, 1963

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY T-35  
September 18, 1963

NY T-36  
August 29, 1963

NY T-37  
August 28, 1963

NY T-38  
September 18, 1963

NY T-28  
September 18, 1963

NY T-39  
September 18, 1963

NY T-17  
September 18, 1963

NY T-14  
September 18, 1963

NY T-40  
September 18, 1963

NY T-41  
September 17, 1963

NY T-42  
September 17, 1963

NY T-12  
September 18, 1963

NY T-43  
September 17, 1963

NY T-44  
September 17, 1963

X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735.

[NY T-11]  
August 29, 1963] X (U)

~~SECRET~~  
In addition, NY T-28 related that prior to leaving for Washington, D.C., bundles of "The Worker" were placed on the buses chartered by Advance, as well as copies of a statement by the PYOC on its "Right to Earn, Right to Learn" conference. X (U)

It was decided, in view of the position of the leaders of the March on Washington, to leave the bundles of "The Worker" unopened on the bus. X (U)

NY T-17 additionally reported that upon arrival in Washington, D.C., members of the informant's group were given pamphlets written by BEN DAVIS dealing with the Negro fight for civil rights.

Following the March, these individuals sold about 100 copies of "The Worker" and various CP pamphlets. X (U)

Source advised a large Detroit delegation convened on the mall by the Washington Monument. There was a short meeting of CP members from Detroit and it was brought out that "we" should reverse the march, that is, to persuade the people to march to Capitol Hill instead of the Lincoln Memorial. This idea was abandoned as not being feasible as there were too many marshals and Military Police deployed around Capitol Hill. X (U)

TOMMY DENNIS stated "we" should have brought a determined group of young people who could stampede the individuals attending the March into reverse, marching on Capitol Hill instead of the Lincoln Memorial. DENNIS stated this demonstration is only the beginning and "we" have won a point just by having such a demonstration. DENNIS said that the next time, possibly in two or three years, "we" will have another March, and this one will be a March on Congress. X (U)

[NY T-22]  
September 5, 1963] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

VIEWS OF CPUSA ON RESULTS OF MARCH ON  
WASHINGTON AND SUBSEQUENT ACTIVITY

(U) ~~National Leadership, CPUSA~~

GUS HALL stated, with respect to the March on Washington, that in his opinion there were a quarter of a million people in the March. He stated that one quarter of the people in the March were white and that he and the Party could take credit for there having been so many white people in the March. HALL further stated the Party "had a great deal to do with this and that the Party played a major role in many of these white people going to Washington." (U)

NY T-45  
August 28, 1963

A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held August 30, 1963, at CP Headquarters, New York City. (U)

The discussion concerned itself with the civil rights legislation pending in Congress and what could be done to get the Congress to react favorably towards this legislation now that the March on Washington was a success. (U)

JACK STACHEL urged that efforts should be made to get the labor unions involved in this fight. WILLIAM L. PATTERSON commented that demonstrations should be held in front of press offices demanding editorials on the need to do away with the filibusters in Congress. (U)

ARNOLD JOHNSON called for work stoppages as well as demonstrations in Washington, D.C., as an anti-filibuster step. He said the work stoppages could be for a few minutes each day, to be increased daily as long as the filibusters continue. (U)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., stated that the CP should think more along the lines of a mass movement of a non-partisan (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

nature, saying the struggle is for all Americans and that it has placed the American system on trial. He noted that the Muslims, as a result of the March on Washington, were "buried". DAVIS said that he would propose that the CP have people demonstrate in Washington ~~on Oct. 16~~ every day of the filibuster. He also felt that it was ~~possible~~ to have ten million Negroes shut down everything in this country as an anti-filibuster move. He felt that the work stoppages could be for fifteen minutes a day on the first day and the next day increase the work stoppage to a period of two hours. He felt that it was a legitimate demand to mobilize the American people in order to break any filibuster. (U)

DAVIS averred to the recent article by DAVID LAWRENCE in the "New York Herald Tribune." He described LAWRENCE's column as the worst one in the entire country. DAVIS stated that in his opinion, he did not believe that it would be out of line to set up a picket line around the "New York Herald Tribune." He said the picket line would be along the lines that DAVID LAWRENCE must go or there must be a public apology by that paper. DAVIS also felt that some effort should be made to force Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER of New York to take an active part in breaking any filibuster. (U)

NY T-46  
August 30, 1963] X (U)

A meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, and invited guests was held September 4, 1963, in New York. X (U)

At this meeting, the main point on the agenda was the March on Washington. X (U)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS discussed the March. He characterized it as "the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of the country" and said there is a feeling in many quarters that official estimates of the March were lower on attendance figures than the number who actually participated. He stated that although the newspapers said there were approximately 200,000, it appeared more likely that there were close to 300,000 or 400,000. X (U)

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DAVIS called for the establishment of a policy committee by the CPUSA for the purpose of bringing the meaning of the March to the people and to act on local problems. He commented, "More and more it is going to be necessary to work on our ~~contribution~~ within the framework of the March...to fight for the ~~ideology~~ of the working man... more and more it becomes necessary to work for the ideology of this particular movement and the working class..." ~~X~~ (U)

According to DAVIS, the breaking of a filibuster "is the main next job" and pressure must be put on the President of the United States to break the resistance. ~~X~~ (U)

JAMES JACKSON commended DAVIS on his report. He stated that ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had paid tribute to Dr. DU BOIS and it was his opinion that "there seemed to be kind of a second thought that the Negro movement at this stage in its organizational security can ill afford its divorce from the experience and the substantial contribution of Negro Marxists." JACKSON noted that every newspaper in every country in the world has identified DU BOIS, not only as a leading literary figure, but also as a Communist. ~~X~~ (U)

In describing the role of the CPUSA, JACKSON said that, "although equipped with proper foresight and projections, it could not be said that the practical, organizational functions of responsibility fitted the projections made." He said "We were one of many stimulating elements...but in this we played a rather anonymous role and we functioned more or less as individuals. Our mission was that of undistinguishable parts of the whole. In many areas our people were responsible for getting fine turnouts...the stimulating role our people played in certain areas needed additional emphasis...as to just what should be our particular role...it is a sad fact that in the huge mass role we performed anonymously" ~~X~~ (U)

JACKSON then asked rhetorically "Was there no special role for the Party?" and continued that "it points out a serious aspect of the Party, a kind of critical aspect of organizational laxity, a problem of definition of our identity." ~~(S)~~ ~~(U)~~ (U)

JACKSON was critical of the fact that so few participated in the distribution of "The Worker" and other literature noting that "in spite of the fact that the literature was neatly packaged and all prepared, in spite of the fact there were decisions and commitments, 3 or 4 people participated in the distribution..." He said this was not just another mass meeting but was "a big chunk of the most advanced area of the American popular masses and working class." He noted that "this is an assembly that comes once in the lifetime of a party to assemble the militant, dedicated people who crossed half the country, gave up their jobs for a day or so, sacrificed to get into a social struggle. This was a natural pawn in which Communists should exist...to be with these people, eat with them, meet with them, develop address with which they could further communicate." ~~(S)~~ (U)

JACKSON recalled the fact that, with only one dissenting vote, it had been decided that there be a special edition of "The Worker" for the March and that "a hundred comrades should participate" in its distribution but, in spite of this, the one dissent was the prevailing reaction. ~~(S)~~ (U)

GUS HALL asked how many copies were sold and LOUIS WEINSTOCK stated that 1,400 copies of "The Worker" were sold "that day" and a total of about 1,000 pamphlets were also sold. ~~(S)~~ (U)

WEINSTOCK remarked that final arrangements were made three or four weeks before the affair and "there were nineteen people at the meeting where 100 were supposed to come, five of them non-Communists..." ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

JACKSON stressed the need for getting better organizational means to get people to work. He said that, while in Washington, he had gotten "maybe a half dozen invitations from trade unions" and that the trade unions put on a tremendous public relations job. He noted that there was a Socialist Party conference for civil rights held on Thursday and Friday following the March attended by 100 people at the first session and about 300 people at the second session. ~~(U)~~

WILLIAM PATTERSON remarked "I think there is the opportunity for us to strengthen our participation in the follow-up (of the August 28th March) in the major districts and states that have not only struggled for public works programs but also other unemployment programs." ~~(U)~~

[redacted] stated he thought there was an improvement in youth work in terms of participation through mass organizations and there has been an improvement in terms of involvement of youth in civil rights demonstrations. ~~(U)~~

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IRVING POTASH commented "the country will not be the same after this March. I think an examination will probably show that many of our comrades played a very important role in bringing about or helping to bring about the participation of quite a number of trade unionists and trade union officials in this." ~~(U)~~

POTASH stated the CPUSA must play a very important role in the civil rights struggle and "the youth movement in particular has a terrific role to play, and first of all to establish basic relations with the Negro youth." ~~(U)~~

POTASH continued, "It is not difficult to establish those unions where the Communists have a great deal of influence. Those were the unions which produced the greatest participation in this March. To some extent this is true of" ~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

the UAW. Although that is not a red led union, it is true it has a great deal of left influence...you take District 65 (District 65 Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO) with a participation of four and one half thousand, certainly there is an example of left influence, Communist influence, where these unions have led the upsurge in the Negro struggle." ~~(SECRET)~~ (U)

POTASH, with respect to the role of the CPUSA, stated he thought that up to now the Party has been too cautious and it should be put on the agenda to move into this area with a greater decisiveness. ~~(SECRET)~~ (U)

[NY T-2  
September 4, 1963] ~~(SECRET)~~ (U)

At a meeting of leading CP functionaries held September 6, 1963, in New York, JAMES E. JACKSON reported on the August 28th, 1963 March on Washington, claiming that "not since the Civil War have so many official bodies of the working population of our country associated themselves actively under the banner of the struggle for the rights of the Negro people." He said that the speeches were notable by the absence of red baiting and there was a unity of purpose between the leadership and those who participated in the March. ~~(SECRET)~~ (U)

JACKSON mentioned his attendance at a conference called by the Socialist Party and held in Washington, D.C., during the week of the March. He said the conference was very significant because it attracted to it all participants and speakers, many of the leading personalities and key administrators of the March. JACKSON commented, "One of the very interesting contributions at this conference was made by BAYARD RUSTIN who described himself as a fellow traveler of the Socialist Party." ~~(SECRET)~~ (U)

NY 100-153735

JACKSON was critical of the role of "The Worker" in connection with the March, stating "our paper in comparison with any paper did not follow this event as it should have done. The truth is that very little happened to utilize 'The Worker' to establish our banner above the other banners in this movement." ~~(U)~~

(U)

JACKSON pointed out that, in spite of the decision to publish a very large number of extra copies of "The Worker" dedicated to the March, the paper was not utilized at the March. He described the failure of adequate distribution of "The Worker" as a serious weakness in organization and said "Our Party is the vehicle to socialism. The 200,000 people who took part in the March should be the 200,000 people who should be in our Party. So we had the additional duty in this March to win Party members." ~~(U)~~

(U)

[redacted] said that the union representation at the August 28th March was brought there by unions that are partially or to some extent Socialist-Party influenced or have a Left background. He described this as a revitalization of the united front and stated "I think this is something for us to seriously think about because it again emphasizes that there is a base for progressive activity." ~~(U)~~

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(U)

NY T-2  
September 6, 1963

~~(U)~~

Source related PHIL BART had complained the CP had not contributed to the March on Washington because it had not contributed to the unity of the March. BART said this and many other things just cannot go on and that the membership is a reflection of the leadership. BART said the Party must go into the South and establish itself and not talk about it any longer. ~~(U)~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

BART further commented no one was at the March on Washington to sell "The Worker" although "we" were supposed to have a meeting of 100 people on the Monday before for that purpose. He said only 19 people showed up. BART stated there is a feeling in the Party that we cannot be a factor for things any longer. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-47  
September 9, 1963]

(U)

A meeting of ~~leading CP~~ functionaries was held September 16, 1963, in New York. ~~(S)~~

JAMES JACKSON reviewed the racial situation in Birmingham, Alabama, and announced that "The Worker" would carry a lead editorial on the first page demanding that Governor WALLACE of Alabama be brought to justice; demanding that the President establish federal occupational authority throughout Alabama; demanding a roundup of the membership of the American Nationalist Party, the White Citizens Councils, and the Ku Klux Klan; and demanding the immediate discharge of J. EDWARD HOOVER, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and a complete reorganization of the FBI. ~~(S)~~ (U)

WILLIAM PATTERSON said that, immediately after hearing of the bombing in Birmingham, he reached a number of people in the Harlem area of New York City, and raised the question of sending telegrams and holding some kind of demonstration. ~~(S)~~ (U)

PATTERSON said that, while he thought JACKSON's statement concerning the FBI was correct, he would like to see a special article devoted to the FBI and "its complete failure over the years" in relation to racial matters in the United States. ~~(S)~~ (U)

ROBERT THOMPSON stated the CPUSA should try to bring about effective, immediate action by the New York City Committee on Racial Equality. He said there should be some kind of major action in New York City, either in the nature of a mass meeting or a march and the Party should undertake a campaign in New York and nationally to influence public opinion in this situation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

IRVING POTASH said it is not enough to throw responsibility on Governor WALLACE of Alabama, but it must be stated in clear terms that the federal government also has a certain responsibility for what is happening in Alabama. ~~X~~ (U)

POTASH noted that President ~~KENNEDY~~ is scheduled to appear before the United Nations (UN) and suggested it might be advisable to set up delegations to submit petitions and demands "even before he gets to the UN", thereby precipitating a possible demonstration at the UN. ~~X~~ (U)

POTASH also suggested the possibility of taking the proposed statement for "The Worker" and reading it publicly at some federal office, "possibly at Foley Square" in order "to dramatize our feelings in this matter." ~~X~~ (U)

BEN DAVIS commented, "I feel bitterly disappointed and bitterly dissatisfied with the response of our Party." He said the Negro movement has now reached the stage which requires a sharpening up of "our attack on the Kennedy administration." DAVIS urged greater activity on the part of the CPUSA stating, "I am of the opinion that unless our Party finds a way, symbolically or personally, or in some other way, to integrate itself in some public manner, if not in its own name, then through some organization in which the Party is known to have influence, we are just going to get a setback that will take us years and years to overcome." ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-35  
September 16, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

Source advised that on September 16, 1963, a telegram to President JOHN F. KENNEDY, The White House, over the signature of GUS HALL, was dispatched by the CP, USA. ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

The text of this telegram is as follows:

"Brutal murder of 6 Negro children yesterday in Birmingham demands immediate action and Federal troops to protect lives of American citizens against lawless insurrection, terror, and calls for the arrest of Wallace and others responsible for murder and bombings. Federal authorities must take power of government away from such bloody hands. Failure to act vigorously in this crisis will not be tolerated by justice living Americans. You can no longer ignore the growing popular demands for arrest of Wallace and those who incite racist violence and defiance of United States Constitution. Action must be taken to dissolve the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, the American Nazi Party, the National States Rights Party, and all racist terrorists. We demand executive orders and complete program of Federal action to smash the resistance of segregationists in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and elsewhere in the south, for the full establishment of constitutional liberties immediately to all Negro Americans and the establishment of new genuinely democratic government in those states in accord with the United States Constitution. Nothing short of these minimum measures will constitute adequate response by you to the challenge of the Birmingham bombing outrages. You, President Kennedy, are held personally responsible for the lives and property of American citizens against racists terror under your authority under the constitution." ~~(U)~~

Gus Hall" ~~(U)~~

NY T-48  
September 16, 1963 ~~(U)~~

A meeting of the National Board, CPUSA and invited guests was held September 18, 1963, at CP Headquarters, New York City. ~~(U)~~

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At this meeting it was stated the student council of Tuskegee Institute had issued an invitation to GUS HALL or some other representative of the CPUSA to participate in a series of platform speakers to develop "ideas and philosophy occupying various positions along the ideological spectrum." HALL was requested to explain the basic philosophy of the CPUSA, and discuss what he felt to be the main threat to the democratic idea. ~~X~~

(U)

BEN DAVIS spoke of the letter from Tuskegee Institute describing it as of greatest importance. He asserted that the Negroes are now willing, as are other forces, to know what the Communist Party has to say and to listen to Communists and welcome whatever support, guidance, leadership, and practical sacrifice the Communists can give "in this new stage, which is how to break the resistance of the Dixiecrats and how to stop the McCarran Act." DAVIS stated that the letter from Tuskegee indicates how the students are thinking and "these students want to know what the Communists have to say about a democratic perspective in America today." He described this as "a direct relationship to the role of Communist youth and to the setting up of a new organization." ~~X~~

(U)

NY 5-2  
September 18, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

A meeting of the National Board, CPUSA and invited guests was held September 25, 1963, in New York. ~~X~~ (U)

The meeting concerned itself primarily with a report being prepared by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr., on the Negro struggle in the United States. ~~X~~

(U)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, Jr., discussed an outline form for the report he is preparing. He said that he did not intend ~~X~~ (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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that his report be considered an ideological report, noting there is "no Chinese wall" between questions of ideology and a political line. He said it is possible to divide the two. The point of the report is to concentrate on the next step in the Negro movement as a whole. DAVIS said that the Party had defined the character of the Negro Revolution and "our position" is essentially that the Negro movement is national in form despite the fact that "we" had come up with the erroneous position of "self-determination." ~~X~~ (U)

DAVIS said that the Negro people have adopted a method of struggle, namely "peaceful, non-violent, direct mass action." He said this is now the chosen method of struggle by the Negro masses. He said the new question coming up, as a result of the bombings in Birmingham, is whether now is the time to abandon the whole question of non-violent action. He said it was his opinion that they should not abandon this theory because the purpose of the violence in Birmingham is to provoke the Negro and to date, the Negro has shown more self-restraint in the face of it. ~~X~~ (U)

Continuing, DAVIS said "we" must make it clear that "we are for these self-defense programs of the Negroes." He said the Negro should have the right to defend himself against brutal attacks by racists with whatever weapons they can. He said the Party should point out that the Federal Government should step in and protect the Negro so that this responsibility is not left on the Negro people. DAVIS said the Negro people are in favor of Federal action in Birmingham and want Federal troops to take over the state. He felt that an additional goal is to break the resistance of the Dixiecrats which means "illegalizing and outlawing" all fascist organizations operating in the South. ~~X~~ (U)

DAVIS commented that the two-man ~~time~~ team sent by the KENNEDY Administration to Birmingham ~~had~~ and ~~[redacted]~~ was a pitiful step by the administration. He said that KING (MARTIN LUTHER KING, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) made a serious mistake when he agreed to accept these two people. DAVIS said that in criticizing this method "we" should put the blame on the KENNEDY Administration and not on KING. ~~X~~ (U)

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Continuing, DAVIS stated that the great unity achieved as a result of the August 28, March on Washington can only be maintained by the development of further mass motions of this character, adding "you cannot have unity of the Negro people if they unit actions." He said ~~the domestic leadership of~~ the Negro movement, in one form or another, is tied in some way to the KENNEDY Administration. This is a situation that requires greater independence on the part of the Negro movement and its leaders. The key question is "how to get our line out and how to fight for it and how the party is going to exert some control and some influence." ~~X~~ (U)

DAVIS stated that the August 28, March on Washington was not only a historical and unprecedented demonstration of the unity of the Negro people as well as the white people, but that the March transferred the responsibility to the Federal Government and to the American citizen. He said the next step, following Birmingham and the bombings, has to be a step involving masses of people. Since everyone "at the demonstration" took a pledge to sit in, to stand in, to demonstrate, now is the time, in my opinion, for the leaders of the Negro movement to use this to advantage. DAVIS stated that the South in the next five years will be the additional force which can be brought into the progressive movement and will help change the whole relationship of forces. He said "somehow our party has to appear as the champion of the Negro people's movement and as the champion of the very low poverty levels of living of the white masses in the South." ~~X~~ (U)

He said this has to be done and it is not being done at the present time. There is no representative form of government in Alabama, Mississippi and other states. The focus of attention should be on what is the main source of resistance in the South today, the implementation of the rights of the Negro people. DAVIS felt that there was a need for some center from which a consistent policy and leadership could be given in order to reach wide sections of the Negro people. ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

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He said it should be something broad, something militant, something which gives action from another center and which gives direct leadership in such a form that it can be an accepted part of the new revolution. He said it was time that "we went around and talked to some of the Negro leaders in order to see how this could be developed. He said "we have to have a form in which the consistent policy of the Party can be brought forward and can be approximated, if not fully, as closely as possible and that can reach great masses of the Negro people." DAVIS acknowledged that this "means money and it means a thorough discussion on our part." ~~X~~ (U)

DAVIS also remarked that Harlem is a problem that must be solved because other forces have taken over the Harlem community "and the Party is no where around." He said this is the number one Party problem to be solved. "We" have to keep in mind the image of "our Party" among the Negro people as well as the white workers and progressives throughout the country. ~~X~~ (U)

Following DAVIS' comments a discussion period followed. ROBERT THOMPSON said that the main object of the report is to develop the question "What is required now to successfully force federal intervention in Alabama?" He said that "we" have to defend KING's leadership in this movement---especially the leadership that KING represents. THOMPSON remarked that he did not agree that there was a need for a new center for the civil rights movement as suggested by DAVIS. He said it would not serve a useful purpose and such a center would be a focal point for the gathering of "every flighty element that is trying to horn in on the real movement." ~~X~~ (U)

THOMPSON said "we" have to think about the development of the strength and role of the Negro-American Labor Council (NALC). He said their activities can play a real part and can be expanded to shape the program of the civil rights movement. ~~X~~ (U)

GUS HALL expressed the opinion that there is a need now to discuss the question of a new party, a party of labor and Negro. "There is a need to discuss a new" ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

alignment, not necessarily a new party but one which could emerge as a giant political action. He felt that there was also a need to project new ideas on the part of labor "in order to get out of their rut." ~~(S)~~ (U)

JAMES JACKSON said the ~~report~~ should give a rousing salute to the Negro in this year 1968. The main thing is the glorious rise of the Negro in America which has inspired the world. JACKSON, in commenting on the pending civil rights bill, felt that there should be a lobby down in Washington on this bill. ~~(S)~~ (U)

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that labor will play an important role in the Negro movement and he was in favor of some sort of a Negro political action committee. ~~(S)~~ (U)

IRVING POLASH stated that there was a need for unity in the Negro movement. He said "our party" for years has projected this idea and the Party should signify the worthiness of this unity. He said that the right of self-defense by the Negro is a most important question and "we" should take a forthright position on it. He said the Negro patrols in Birmingham have our support in view of the fact that the Federal authorities are not carrying out their responsibilities. He said that if the Federal authorities were carrying out their responsibilities, it would be a different situation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

GILBERT GREEN commented that what had been discussed can be the basis for a good report. He said there is a need to take the Negro freedom struggle off the streets and into the courts. "Our party" should be careful to maintain the unity of the Negro struggle. "we" should not impose the party on this movement. We should do nothing which will either turn this movement into an anti-Communist movement or will divide the movement. ~~(S)~~ (U)

GREEN said "our objective" must be to press the administration to break with the Dixiecrats and this will guarantee the renovation of the South. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, in concluding the discussion, said the Party must concentrate on influencing the leaders and the policies of the Negro liberation movement. He said "we" should suggest that there be in Washington in some public place like the Washington Monument or the Lincoln Memorial a round-the-clock massing of people with outstanding speakers from all over the country to continue until the filibuster is broken. He said "many people in the movement are officially considering this," DAVIS said "our access" to various forces and figures in this movement is not cut off. "I am not the only one who has this access. Gus (Hall) and Jim (Jackson) have it as well as others on various levels." DAVIS said the question is, are we satisfied with "the limited instrumentalities that we now have?" DAVIS further remarked "we must have elements of boldness and change our role from one that just defines policy and evaluation to one that helps shape policy." DAVIS said "This guy Rustin calls me constantly...openly." X (U)

DAVIS, in concluding his remarks, stated that the Party must demand (President) KENNEDY come out against the ultra right and take a sharp position against them. He said "we" must demand that a deadline be set for integration in the country. X

(U)

[NY T-2  
September 23, 1963] X (U)

(U) X NEW YORK DISTRICT LEADERSHIP, CPUSA

On September 17, 1963, a CPUSA New York District meeting was held at Hellenic Hall, 269 West 25th Street, New York City. WILLIAM L. PATTERSON acted as Chairman and the agenda included an evaluation of the March on Washington by ROBERT THOMPSON. In his report, THOMPSON made the following observations: X (U)

The March was orderly and calm, without any incidents which would have detracted from it. Negro and white unity has X (U)

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been raised to a new level by the March. The struggle for equality is a struggle for all Americans not for Negroes alone. The March was excellent but the murder of Negroes in Alabama and the fact that police brutality is still a major issue against Negroes should have been brought out more in the March. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

The leaders of the March should concentrate on these proposals in regard to civil rights and a strong Fair Employment Practices Commission. They should see that the Negro is protected in his right to vote in the South and a fight made for full equality in the struggle for jobs. The Negro fight for jobs is a test for the labor movement and Negro and white allies. This fight should be concentrated industry by industry and understanding in trade unions raised to a new level. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

Although the March was good, there was not enough organization in the grass root section of the movement, especially in the Puerto Rican community. Few Puerto Ricans took part because they were not organized and weren't told what the March was all about. The Puerto Rican movement should be built up and this is one field the Party could move into and do a good job. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

The Negro American Labor Council was not as successful as it should have been in the March. This organization has been going downhill since its last convention in its fight for Negro rights. However, individual leaders, especially A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, showed great strength and character. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

The formation of the new Negro party is a danger to the Negro movement at the present time. It is a danger to the Negro movement because its name will split the movement itself. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

In regard to the Party activity in the March, "The Worker" did not effectively reach the hands of those who attended this event. Very few volunteers showed up to distribute "The Worker" at the various points of embarkation from New York to Washington, D.C. Although the role of the Party was a correct estimate of

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the March and how it should be carried out, the main Party weakness was not getting the paper into circulation. (U)

The report by THOMPSON was accepted unanimously. (U)

~~SECRET~~ NY T-4  
September 17, 1963

LOCAL CP CLUBS, NEW YORK DISTRICT

JAMES TORMEY gave a report on the Negro Movement and the August 28, 1963 March on Washington, at a meeting of the CP caucus in the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). (U)

TORMEY advised the following in his report: (U)

The Negro Movement is a revolutionary movement aimed at the elimination of the residue of Slavery and intimidation of the Negro people. Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING has said that the whole Movement is a basic attack against the power structure of the United States, and that this is most important because it is a Marxist approach to the problem coming from a Negro leader. (U)

Concerning the August 28, 1963, March on Washington, the Negro leadership estimated 250,000 people participated with an estimate of approximately thirty per cent white people. This is very important to the overall success of the March. (U)

The Muslim and Black Nationalist Movement suffered a serious setback because of the March on Washington, the way it was received and the way that it was carried out without any riots or fighting. (U)

The efforts of the progressives to obtain the labor unions participation in the Civil Rights and Negro Movement is tantamount to saving labor unions. If the Labor Movement does not become involved in this struggle they could be seriously weakened. Labor seriously needs the alliance with the Negro Movement. (U)

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The contemplated March on City Hall in New York City scheduled for September 29, 1963, was called off. The reason given was that as originally planned it would have been mainly concerned with the building trades and would have been dangerous and may have destroyed labor's part in the March. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The March on City Hall should include other demands besides those against the building trades. ~~(S)~~ (U)

When the new date is announced for the March on City Hall, "we" will have an all out job. The bridge between labor and the Negro People's Movement is the Negro "Comrades." ~~(S)~~ (U)

WILLIAM E. PATERSON advised at this same meeting that "we" played a fundamental role in the March on Washington all over the United States. He also said that "we" must fight vigorously to protect the unity of the Negro leaders. ~~(S)~~ (U)

NY T-12  
September 17, 1963 ~~(S)~~

OTHER CP DISTRICTS

(U) ~~1.~~ Newark, New Jersey

At a CP meeting held September 4, 1963, in Newark, New Jersey, a discussion was held relative to the March on Washington. ~~(S)~~ (U)

It was stated by one of the members present that he felt the March would not accomplish any great change in Congress, and it would not bring civil rights closer, but it was a success in that the March was actually held. Further, that President KENNEDY, by being so nice, had robbed the March of its militancy. President KENNEDY, by endorsing the March, attracted many people to the March who otherwise would not have attended. ~~(S)~~ (U)

It was further felt that a bad part of the March was the failure of those participating not to realize that the United States must have socialism to bring about civil rights and end unemployment. ~~(S)~~ (U)

NY T-49  
September 5, 1963 ~~(S)~~

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ACTIVITY OF "THE WORKER"

"The Worker" issue of September 1, 1963, page 1, contained an article by "The Worker Staff" entitled, "200,000 Demand Congress Act For Freedom," which article summarized the events of the March on Washington and contained brief excerpts from some of the speakers at the March.

"The Worker," issue of September 8, 1963, contained an editorial by JAMES E. JACKSON entitled, "The Mandate of Millions Is for Kennedy to Act Against the Racists." This editorial mentions various racial incidents and states the March on Washington presents President KENNEDY with a mandate to take prompt corrective action in the quest for civil rights.

This same issue contained on page 2, an article by MIKE DAVIDOW entitled, "N.Y. Ripe for Its Own Civil Rights March".

"The Worker" issue of September 10, 1963, page 3, contained an article entitled, "March to City Hall Sept. 29 To Protest Building Job Bias."

This article called attention to a proposed March on City Hall to press the struggle for building trades jobs for Negroes and Puerto Ricans being sponsored by the Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity as a follow-up to the March on Washington.

"The Worker" issue of September 17, 1963, page one, contained an editorial captioned, "Bring Wallace to Justice for Inciting to Murder" and an article by JAMES E. JACKSON under the same caption relating to the bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, which resulted in the death of six Negro children. These activities demanded President Kennedy issue an Executive Order declaring the State of Alabama to be in a state of insurrection against the constituted law of the land and in violation of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.

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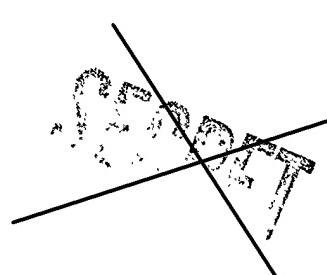
~~SECRET~~

"The Worker" issue of September 22, 1963, contained several articles bearing such captions as, "Sunday Is Set For Mourning Child Martyrs"; Protests Mounting in Nation Over Birmingham Murders"; "A Time for Action"; "Who Threw the Bomb? 'We All Did It'" and "East Siders Urge U.S. Federalize Alabama."

These articles all relate to the bombings in Birmingham, Alabama, and point up the plight of the Negro people. They call for the arrest of Governor WALLACE of Alabama and for President KENNEDY to intervene in that State.

"The Worker" issue of September 24, 1963, contained an article entitled, "10,000 at Rally Demand JFK Send Troops."

This article reflected a crowd of 10,000 people gathered at New York's Foley Square on Sunday, September 22, 1963, to mourn the six Negro children killed in Birmingham, Alabama, and to demand federal action in behalf of the Negro people in the South.



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C. DEMONSTRATIONS AND NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING  
FOR THE CHILDREN OF BIRMINGHAM HELD ON  
SEPTEMBER 22, 1963

This demonstration was held on September 22, 1963 outside the United States Court House at Foley Square in New York City. Approximately 10,000 people were present. The demonstration was sponsored by the NAACP, CORE, as well as other organizations.

Among those in attendance were BENJAMIN DAVIS  
and [redacted]

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NY T-35  
September 24, 1963

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NY 100-153735

D. DEMONSTRATIONS BY ADVANCE IN NEW YORK CITY ON  
SEPTEMBER 16, 1963, SEPTEMBER 30, 1963 AND  
NOVEMBER 27, 1963

~~REF ID: A6523~~

A group of about 35 persons representing Advance picketed the United States Mission to the United Nations (UN), New York City, on September 16, 1963, continuing through to the morning of September 17, 1963, at which time eight pickets remained. The pickets carried signs protesting the Birmingham killings and asking President KENNEDY to intervene in that situation and calling for a civil rights police force. While walking they chanted for the arrest of Alabama's Governor WALLACE.

About 40 persons participated in a picket line demonstration in the UN Plaza, held by Advance on September 16, 1963, calling for a civil rights force to prevent further violations in the South and demanding Federal intervention in Birmingham.

[NY T-28  
September 24, 1963] X (U)

Members of Advance took part in a picket line on September 19, 1963, near the Carlyle Hotel, New York City, where President KENNEDY was staying. The pickets carried signs bearing the following slogans: "Arrest Wallace Now"; "Send Troops to Birmingham"; "Only Federal Action Can Settle Racism in Birmingham".

[NY T-168  
September 20, 1963]  
[NY T-41  
September 20, 1963] X (U)

Members of Advance picketed in front of the United States Steel Office at 71 Broadway, New York City, on September 30, 1963. There were about 40 persons in the demonstration. They carried signs calling for equal opportunities for Negroes.

[NY T-28  
October 1, 1963] X (U)

~~REF ID: A6523~~

NY 100-153735

A City Board meeting of Advance was held on November 23, 1963. The agenda concerned making plans for picketing the United States Steel Office on November 27, 1963, to protest the company's alleged failure in Birmingham, Alabama, to use its influence in the cause of civil rights. ~~(S)~~ (U)

NY T-28

November 29, 1963

~~(S)~~ (U)

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed approximately twenty demonstrators in the picket line demonstration by Advance at the offices of United States Steel Corporation, 71 Broadway, on November 27, 1963. The demonstrators carried signs reading, "U.S. Steel Do Your Part In Building A Living Memorial To President Kennedy"; "U.S. Steel In Memoriam To President Kennedy Integrate Birmingham". The demonstration was peaceful.

E. DEMONSTRATION AT 24TH PRECINCT,  
NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT,  
NOVEMBER 21, 1963

This demonstration was mentioned in the section of this report pertaining to the Workers World Party.

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F. Boycott of New York City Public Schools, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
February 3, 1964, March 16, 1964

The "New York Daily News" of February 4, 1964, contains an article captioned "Third of Pupils Stay Out in Peaceful Boycott." It was reported in this article that slightly more than a third of the million pupils in the city school system boycotted classes on February 3, 1964. It was noted that the demonstration was not marred by a single instance of violence. The organized demonstration was planned and executed by civil rights groups dissatisfied with the Board of Education's plan for racial integration.

"The New York Times" of February 4, 1964, contained an article captioned "Thousands of Orderly Marchers Besiege School Board's Office." In this article, it was stated that thousands of those participating in the Boycott of New York City Public Schools on February 3, 1964, marched on the Board of Education headquarters, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn. It was reported that [REDACTED] was the leader of the boycott and that BAYARD RUSTIN was the director of the boycott. The boycott was called to protest the racial imbalance in New York City Public Schools.

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It was reported that the ranks of those marching had been infiltrated/<sup>by</sup> "extremists" who were "passing out copies of the Communist Party Worker and a pink sheet of the far-left Progressive Labor Movement, demanding that President JOHNSON take three billion dollars from the defense budget to rehabilitate city schools."

The "New York Daily News" of February 5, 1964, carried the headline "Boycott Chief Soviets' Guest; RUSTIN at UN Mission Party." On page 3, there appears an article by [REDACTED] In the article it was stated that BAYARD RUSTIN, who was fresh from his labors of the day before (February 3, 1964) in directing a citywide schools boycott, last night attended a private cocktail party given by [REDACTED] Soviet United Nations Mission, 136 East 67th Street. According to the article, the press

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learned from RUSTIN that his presence there was derived from his activities in the Committee for Nonviolent Action and his preoccupation with artistic freedom within the Soviet Union.

A circular by the CPUSA was circulated at the Walt Whitman Housing project, Brooklyn, New York, just prior to the Boycott of New York City Public Schools, which took place on February 3, 1964. The circular supported the February 3, 1964 Boycott of Public Schools.



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Brooklyn, NEW YORK

At a meeting of the New York District Committee of the CP held on January 11, 1964, BILL ALBERTSON, speaking in regard to the school boycott scheduled for February 3, 1964, stated he could not say what to do since the Negro leadership of the boycott does not have its campaign fully developed. ALBERTSON said that the CP will mobilize in the district and in the neighborhoods to follow the plans of the boycott. ~~X~~

[ NY T-59  
January 17, 1964 ] ~~X~~ (U)

The Tremont Club of the Bronx CP held a meeting on January 30, 1964. [ ] talked about the school boycott which was scheduled for February 3, 1964. [ ] stated if the boycott does materialize the members of the club should cooperate fully with the local civil rights organization and those who are in a position should participate. ~~X~~

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[ NY T-8  
February 20, 1964 ] ~~X~~ (U)

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A meeting of the Forbes Club of the CP was held on January 6, 1964. [redacted] urged all members of the club to support the New York City Public Schools boycott on February 3, 1964. She stated that this is part of the Civil Rights struggle and that the CP and "The Worker" are contributing to this fight. ~~(U)~~

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[NY T-13]  
January 9, 1964] ~~(U)~~

At a meeting of the Bronx County Council of the CP held on March 11, 1964, [redacted] urged all who could do so to participate in one way or another on Monday, March 16, in order to insure a successful boycott to show the Board of Education that the people support full integration of all students in public schools. She said there may be other boycotts in the future and that they must align themselves with the Civil Rights group and do all that can be done to win this fight. ~~(U)~~

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[NY T-8]  
March 17, 1964] ~~(U)~~

The "New York Herald Tribune" of March 17, 1964, reported that Rev. MILTON A. GALAMISON led another boycott demonstration on March 16, 1964, which was said to be only half as large as the first boycott. It was also reported that JESSE GRAY participated in this demonstration.

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• WORLD'S FAIR DEMONSTRATION, NEW YORK CITY,  
APRIL 22, 1964

"The New York Times", issue of April 21, 1964, contains an article captioned "Stall-in Leaders Defy Plea to Bar Tie-up Tomorrow". This article reports that civil rights leaders went ahead with plans to conduct a massive traffic stall-in at the opening of the World's Fair in New York, despite a court order barring such demonstrations.

A board meeting of Advance Youth Organization was held on April 4, 1964. It was announced at this meeting that Civil Rights groups in the New York area were planning demonstrations at the World's Fair, New York, on April 22, 1964. Members of Advance Youth Organization were encouraged to participate. ~~(U)~~

[NY T-29  
April 6, 1964] ~~(U)~~

On April 18, 1964, a group met at Advance Headquarters, 169 Allen Street, New York City. [redacted] asked for volunteers to be arrested during a World's Fair demonstration on April 22, 1964. ~~(U)~~

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[NY T-41  
April 22, 1964] ~~(U)~~

It was learned at a meeting of the East Side Rent Strike Committee in New York City on April 22, 1964, that [redacted] took part in the demonstrations at the opening of the World's Fair in New York City on April 22, 1964. ~~(U)~~

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[NY T-33  
April 23, 1964] ~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

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Among those persons who were arrested in picketing  
demonstrations at the World's Fair opening on April 22, 1964  
were [redacted]

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~~SECRET~~ NY T-150  
May 6, 1964

(U)

Among those persons arrested during demonstrations  
at the World's Fair, on April 22, 1964, was [redacted]  
who identified himself as an official of the Congress of Racial  
Equality (CORE) in St. Louis, Missouri. Also among those who  
were arrested in the demonstrations at the New York World's  
Fair on April 22, 1964 were the following.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.

[redacted]  
Bureau of Special Services  
New York City Police Department  
April 24, 1964

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The source furnished information reflecting that MIKE  
DAVIDOW and [redacted] were present at the opening of the  
World's Fair on April 22, 1964, for the purpose of covering the  
demonstrations there for "The Worker", an East Coast Communist  
newspaper. The same source advised that [redacted] was at  
the site of the Fair and that he planned to enter the Fair grounds.

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~~SECRET~~ NY T-248  
April 22, 1964

(U)

~~SECRET~~

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A Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on April 22, 1964, observed [ ] and [ ] marching with CORE pickets at the entrance to the World's Fair. Another Special Agent observed [ ] marching with CORE (U) pickets at the New York State pavilion.

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The source advised that [ ] stated on that date that only twelve of "our" people showed up that morning and that "we had promised over one hundred". This source further advised that [ ] told [ ] on April 22, 1964, that he had been arrested on a subway train stall-in and that his brother, [ ] still was in jail. X

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NY T-267  
April 22, 1964

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A Special Agent of the FBI observed [ ] and [ ] with CORE pickets on the grounds of the World's Fair on April 22, 1964.

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Detective [ ] Bureau of Special Services (BSS), advised on April 22, 1964, that BAYARD RUSTIN was arrested on that date at the New York City pavilion with [ ] Leader of CORE, by Pinkerton police, for trespassing.

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Detective [ ] also advised on April 24, 1964, that the following were among those arrested for taking part in demonstrations at the World's Fair on April 22, 1964:

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- 2.
- 3.
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- 12.
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NY 100-153735

H. MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS, MAY 18, 1964

"The New York Times," May 9, 1964, page 14, contained an article "Rustin Is Fearful of Violence Here" which contained comments of BAYARD RUSTIN relative to the demonstration planned for May 18, 1964, in New York City. RUSTIN is credited with stating that the demonstration would afford a means of relieving some of the racial pressures that are building up. RUSTIN also said that the proposed demonstration would center on the demands of Negroes, Puerto Ricans and liberal whites for improved, integrated education.

It is stated that the demonstration would be sponsored by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People(NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality(CORE). According to the article, RUSTIN gave the schedule of events for the demonstration to be called "March for Democratic Schools" and these included boycotts at several public schools on the morning of May 18, 1964, picketing at Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S office at 22 West 55th Street, New York City, in the early afternoon, followed by a demonstration and mass meeting at City Hall, New York City at 4:30 p.m., and concluding with a march across Brooklyn Bridge to affix demands to the door of the Board of Education building.

"The Worker," in its issue of May 12, 1964, page 1, column 3, contained an article "Monday March for Rights Gets Wider Support" in which it is stated that BAYARD RUSTIN, "director of the May 18, March for Democratic Schools announced last week growing support for the New York City Hall rally to demand a city-wide plan for quality integrated schools." This article further stated:

"It is clear that the director of the May 18 action was appealing to all friends of the civil rights movement, and particularly to the white supporters, to view the City Hall rally in a crucial sense.

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"The press has already indicated that comparison with the all-white March 12 City Hall action led by the racist-led Parents and Taxpayers is inevitable.

"Since less than a week remains for mobilization, nothing less than an all-out activity that characterized the preparations for the Aug. 28 March on Washington is required to achieve the kind of demonstration that will make a profound impression on the city."

On May 8, 1964, MIKE DAVIDOW, representing "The Worker," was in contact with BAYARD RUSTIN. DAVIDOW wanted to know how the May 18th demonstration was progressing and RUSTIN advised him of the organizational support they were getting, the announced speakers and the plan for boycotting schools in Harlem.

Source further advised that on May 8, 1964, JACK STACHEL told [redacted] that he should play up big the May 18th affair at City Hall. ~~X~~

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NY T 248  
May 8, 1964 ~~X~~

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"The New York Times," May 19, 1964, page 1, contained an article "Rights Turnout Here Falls Short of Leaders' Goal" which stated that a crowd of Negroes and whites estimated at 4,000 to 5,500, showed up at City Hall, New York City, on May 18, 1964, for a school integration rally "instead of the '15,000 and 1' hoped for by civil rights leaders." It added that "Bayard Rustin, director of the protests here, had hoped to surpass the crowd of 15,000 whites that marched on City Hall on March 13. . . ."

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation(FBI) observed the following individuals at

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~~the demonstration in front of Governor NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S office, 22 West 55th Street, New York City, on the afternoon of May 18, 1964:~~

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[REDACTED]  
MIKE DAVIDOW  
BAYARD RUSTIN

Special Agents of the FBI observed the following at the mass rally at City Hall, New York City, on the afternoon of May 18, 1964:

[REDACTED]  
JOHN ABT

[REDACTED]  
CONNIE BART

[REDACTED]  
MIKE DAVIDOW

[REDACTED]  
FELIX KUSMAN

[REDACTED]  
PAUL ROBESON, Jr.

[REDACTED]  
ARNOLD JOHNSON

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A Special Agent of the FBI obtained copies of literature being distributed at the mass rally at City Hall. These included the May 17, 1964 issue of "The Worker" which contained an article by MIKE DAVIDOW on page 1, stating that the civil rights demonstration for May 18 at City Hall was getting strong labor support. This issue had stapled to it, a post card containing space for a name and address and stating that by filling in a name and address, a person would receive the next three issues of "The Worker" without charge. Also distributed were throwaways from the Harlem Progressive Labor Club, "Jewish Currents" and the Socialist Labor Party.

A characterization of "Jewish Currents" is set forth in the attached appendix pages.

The throwaway of the Socialist Labor Party states that this party was founded in 1890 and "is the only bona fide party of Socialism in Ameria. It has no connection whatsoever with other parties or groups calling themselves Socialist or Communist, either in this country or abroad."

The Harlem Progressive Labor Club is a club of Progressive Labor, a characterization of which is set forth in the attached appendix pages.

Special Agents of the FBI observed [redacted] distributing copies of "The Worker" outside the New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York, between the hours of 6:15 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. on May 18, 1964, during the rally held there by the March for Democataic Schools.

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A Special Agent of the FBI observed [redacted] selling the magazine Freedomways" in the crowd gathered

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NY 100-158756

at City Hall, New York City, during the Party held there by the March for Democratic Schools.

A characterization of "Freedomways" is set forth in the appendix pages attached hereto under the caption, Freedomways Associates, Incorporated.

The same Special Agent observed MIKE DAVIDOW in the front ranks of the crowd which left City Hall and marched across Brooklyn Bridge to the Board of Education.

At a CP meeting held on the evening of May 18, 1964, DORETTA TARMON, [redacted] stated that they had taken part in the demonstration at City Hall, New York City, that day. ~~X~~ (U)

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[NY T-33  
May 19, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

A CP, USA, NYD Board meeting was held at the Hotel Woodstock, New York City, on May 4, 1964, and JAMES TORMEY was the speaker on civil rights. TORMEY said the Party should support a May 18, 1964 rally of CORE and the NAACP, consisting of a march on City Hall and then the Board of Education to protest for integration in New York City. No action was taken on the plan. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-4  
May 8, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

A meeting of the Peace Club, Crown Heights Section, CP, was held in Brooklyn, New York, on May 19, 1964. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM PATTERSON was the main speaker and devoted his talk to the school integration demonstrations which had been held on May 18, 1964, at City Hall in New York City. ~~X~~ (U)

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PATTERSON stated the demonstration was not too successful because several civil rights leaders failed to cooperate. ~~(U)~~

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PATTERSON stated that the [redacted] refused to cooperate because he had not been included in the early organizational plans for the demonstration. ~~(U)~~

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PATTERSON stated he had spoken to [redacted] on May 18, 1964, and had urged unity and cooperation among Negro leaders and between Negroes and whites. PATTERSON explained he had tried to get [redacted] to cooperate and not to try to run the integration struggle by himself. ~~(U)~~

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PATTERSON stated that [redacted] is power-happy and likes the "spotlight," and that although he is not a Communist, he is a man the CP can reach. PATTERSON said "we" can sit down with [redacted] and talk over ideas with him. ~~(U)~~

(U)

[ NY T 75  
May 22, 1964 ] ~~(U)~~

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NY 100-153735

I. SHOOTING OF JAMES POWELL, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 16, 1964

At approximately 9:25 a.m., on July 16, 1964, [redacted] of the buildings located at [redacted] New York City, while hosing the street and flower boxes outside the above buildings, became involved in an altercation with several Negro youths who were waiting to enter Robert F. Wagner Junior High School, 222 East 76th Street, New York City, for 10:00 a.m. remedial reading classes.

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The Negro youths felt that [redacted] had deliberately splashed them with water and they, in retaliation, began to hurl trash cans and bottles at [redacted] fled into the building located at 215 East 76th Street, New York City, and from the first floor rear apartment in that building, telephoned the local police precinct, the 19th Precinct to report the incident.

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One of the Negro youths, subsequently identified as James Powell, age fifteen, 1686 Randall Avenue, Bronx, New York, armed with a knife, pursued [REDACTED] into the building at 215 East 76th Street, New York City, but was prevented from entering beyond the vestibule of the building by a double locked door which required a key to open it.

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Lieutenant [REDACTED] New York City Police Department (NYCPD) was at this time in Jadco TV Service Store at 215 East 76th Street, New York City. [REDACTED] who was off duty at the time, heard the crash of glass and emerged from the store to see Powell with a knife in his hand emerging from the building at 215 East 76th Street, New York City. Lt. [REDACTED] identified himself as a police officer and ordered Powell to drop the knife. Powell did not drop the knife, but attempted to assault Lt. [REDACTED] whereupon [REDACTED] fired three shots, two of which struck Powell, killing him.

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At the time of the shooting, there were approximately eight hundred students in the vicinity of Robert F. Wagner Junior High School waiting to enter classes there and some of them attempted to create a disturbance which was brought under control by the arrival of additional members of the NYCPD.

Soon after the shooting, six youths who are pupils at the Robert F. Wagner Junior High School and allegedly witnessed the incident were questioned by the NYCPD. The six youths told conflicting versions of the incident, "but in the main" corroborated the statement of Lt. [REDACTED] that Powell refused to halt and drop the knife when [REDACTED] had ordered him to do so.

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[REDACTED] previously mentioned, and [REDACTED] Proprietor of the Jadco TV Service Store both furnished statements to the NYCPD substantiating the statement of Lt. [REDACTED] that he had shot Powell in self-defense.

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On the afternoon of July 16, 1964, three youths, who are pupils at Robert F. Wagner Junior High School appeared at the 19th Precinct, NYCPD and alleged that they were witnesses to the shooting of Powell. Two of these youths claimed that Powell had no knife on his person as Lt. [REDACTED] claimed. The third youth stated that he heard the first shot

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NY 100-153735

and while leaving the school building to see what happened, heard two more shots. According to the youth, when he got to the street outside the school, he saw Powell lying in the street but never saw the actual occurrence.

The NYPD recovered a knife which they claim had been in Powell's possession prior to the shooting.

NYCPD  
July 16, 1964

James Powell

James Powell, age fifteen resided at 1686 Randall Avenue, Bronx, New York and was a 9th grade student at Public School 123, Bronx, New York. He was attending summer classes in remedial reading at Robert F. Wagner Junior High School.

Powell's [redacted] of the woman presently identifying herself as his [redacted]

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A diagnosis, in April, 1964, described Powell as "psychopathic with marked sadistic characteristics". Diagnosis also revealed that it was obvious that Powell [redacted] wanted to get rid of him.

Powell did not mind going to school because one of his main activities at school was fighting. He claimed that he "never lost a fight." He had learned how to box in the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO), but after a year had been kicked out of that organization. The incident leading to this was that a coach had told him to "take it easy on a kid" who was just learning how to fight and was smaller than Powell. However, Powell had become very angry when hit hard by the other boy and had commenced to beat him very seriously even after the round was over. This incident occurred when Powell was twelve or thirteen years old.

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NY 100-153735

Powell gave as one of the reasons for his poor school attendance during 1963-1964 school year, the fact that he was knifed in the leg and had spent a few days in a hospital. This knifing took place while [redacted] was in the hospital and he was staying with a friend. Powell belonged to a gang which he called a club, and despite the fact that they practiced how to fight using knives and shooting guns, his club "played it cool" and kept out of trouble. When Powell was fourteen and a half years old, he and another boy [redacted] who was a classmate of his at Junior High School 123 had beaten up a Puerto Rican boy "for kicks." As a result, the [redacted] boy was sent to a training school because he had been in trouble before. Powell was put on probation which started in June and ended in September, 1963.

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Powell fought nearly every day for kicks and he and his friends liked "to get high" on whiskey, but he did not drink wine as he felt that this was beneath him. Powell was absent from school thirty-two days during the last school term and on various days in December, 1963 and January, 1964, he was accused by fellow students or school authorities of the following:

Bullying, pickpocketing, stealing, card playing and fighting.

In April, 1964, Powell left New York City for Providence, Rhode Island because he had learned in March, 1964 that a girl, with whom he and four other boys had sexual relations, was pregnant. One of this group, who was an associate of Powell "Had been blamed for the baby". Court action by the girl against Powell's associate would result in a lot of trouble for that boy because he had a long record. It was Powell's thought that the girl might be killed and, therefore, he wanted to be safely out of the city before anything like this was going to happen. Powell also gave as

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NY 100-153735

a reason for leaving New York City "there are no more kicks in this town." He returned to New York City in June, 1964, at which time he was described "as having moody spells and acting a little nasty."

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NY T-124

July 23, 1964

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Lieutenant [redacted]

Lieutenant [redacted] was appointed to the NYPD in December of 1947. He was promoted to the rank of Sergeant on October 8, 1957, and the rank of Lieutenant on March 26, 1964. During his career in the police department, Lieutenant [redacted] has received nineteen citations for excellent police work.

Lieutenant [redacted] has received many transfers during his service on the police department some of which were in connection with promotions. No reason is listed on [redacted] record for the other transfers.

An official complaint was filed against [redacted] on April 20, 1960, when he was absent without leave for seven hours. [redacted] was reprimanded for this. On June 13, 1960, an official complaint was filed against [redacted] for signaling fifteen minutes late. This complaint was dismissed.

NYCPD  
July 16, 1964

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NY 100-153735

. DEMONSTRATIONS AND VIOLENCE IN NEW YORK CITY FOLLOWING  
SHOOTING OF JAMES POWELL, JULY 17-31, 1964

July 17, 1964

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About 200 Negro teenagers conducted an animated but orderly demonstration in Yorkville to protest the fatal shooting on Thursday (July 16, 1964) of James Powell.

The demonstrators, carrying school textbooks and placards proclaiming, "Save Us From Our Protectors" and "Stop Killer Cops," paraded for four hours in front of the Robert F. Wagner Junior High School on East 76th Street, New York City, New York, and near the 67th Street Police Station, New York, New York.

Led by local officials of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the teenagers sang civil rights songs, chanted "Police Brutality Must Go" and jeered and hooted at some 50 patrolmen who watched their parading.

The protest demonstration began at 9:00 a.m. with 75 youths marching and singing in front of the Wagner Junior High School. Two hours earlier, 50 policemen had been posted at the scene with nightsticks. The nightsticks were turned in when the police were told that only youths would be involved in the protest. At noon, the demonstrators were joined by 150 summer school students who had completed their morning classes.

As the crowd of teenagers grew, Chris Sprowal, Chairman of the Downtown Chapter of CORE grabbed a megaphone and cautioned the demonstrators "to behave like ladies and gentlemen." Minutes later, the demonstrators began marching the nine blocks to the 67th Street police station between Lexington and Third Avenues.

When they arrived in the vicinity of the station, the demonstrators were shunted behind a barrier on 67th Street between Lexington and Park Avenue, half a block away from the precinct house. Police stated the demonstrators had not been allowed in the block because it contained a firehouse, the Soviet Mission to the United Nations and the Kennedy Child Study Center. Later, they permitted 25 demonstrators to march across the street from the police station.

The group marched for about an hour. They dispersed quietly after Mr. Sprowal told them that there would "be picketing at the school early Monday morning."

"The New York Times",  
July 18, 1964

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NY 100-153735

July 18, 1964

On July 18, 1964, on the Southwest corner of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, outside the Hotel Theresa, a rally was held sponsored by the East River and Downtown Chapters of CORE. This rally was scheduled for the period 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. and the speakers included [redacted] of Downtown CORE and [redacted] of East River CORE. The subject matter was police brutality and the rally attracted about 300 persons at its peak. At 8:15 p.m., [redacted] informed the Police Department that the CORE part of the meeting was ended.

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Shortly after this, [redacted] Fountain Spring Baptist Church, 158 West 126th Street, New York City, who is affiliated with the Blue Ribbon Organization for Equal Opportunities, took advantage of the crowd assembled for the CORE rally and began to speak about police brutality. [redacted] who was not a scheduled speaker for the CORE rally, made a strong speech.

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Before [redacted] spoke and after [redacted] ended his talk, [redacted] who identified himself [redacted] Muslim Mosque I, delivered a very inflammatory speech which excited the audience against whites. CORE had lost complete control of the crowd.

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Although it is not clear whether [redacted] the speaker who followed him, urged the crowd to demonstrate at the 28th Precinct, [redacted] was the one who led the crowd to the precinct. At about 8:30 p.m., a crowd of about 300 led by [redacted] and others, proceeded south on Seventh Avenue to demonstrate at the 28th Precinct, demanding the immediate suspension and arrest of Police Lt. [redacted]

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NY 100-153735

At about 8:30 p.m., [redacted] of the United African Nationalist Movement (UANM) began to speak at the Northeast corner of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue. He had a loudspeaker and invited the crowd over from the CORE meeting. [redacted] delivered an inflammatory speech against police brutality and made statements that Negroes "should bust some heads" and "for every black man killed, two white men will be killed."

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In the midst of his speech, he was interrupted by one of his group who informed that the police were battling people outside the 28th Precinct. [redacted] told the audience what was going on and urged his listeners to split into two groups, one going south on 8th Avenue and one south on Seventh Avenue to West 123rd Street, where they could converge for a demonstration at the precinct. The majority of the crowd went south on Seventh Avenue with [redacted] where they joined the demonstration at the 28th Precinct.

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NYCPD, July 31, 1964

From 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. on Saturday, July 18, 1964, a rally was held at the Southwest corner of 125th Street, and Seventh Avenue, New York City, to protest the alleged "murder" of James Powell. This rally was under the sponsorship of the Downtown and East River Chapters of CORE with about 300 spectators. At the conclusion of the rally, a member of Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity, (OAAU) was allowed to speak and stirred up the spectators by making statements to the effect that Negroes should arm themselves for self-protection and must be willing to spill blood for freedom.

At approximately 8:15 p.m., another Negro group started a rally at the Northeast corner of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, when the people from the CORE rally began to march three abreast to the area of the 28th Precinct of the NYCPD, 123rd Street and Seventh Avenue, to demonstrate.

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NY 100-153735

In the demonstration, which began outside the 28th Precinct at about 8:45 p.m., there were elements from CORE chapters, the Freedom Now Party, the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) and OAAU. The number of demonstrators at this precinct reached approximately 400.

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NYCPD, July 19, 1964

About one hour after the demonstrations began at the 28th Precinct, someone in the crowd hurled a bottle at the police and an order was issued to clear the area immediately in front of the precinct. Many of the demonstrators refused to move, sat down and sixteen were arrested by the police. In making these arrests, numerous fights broke out and a call was issued for additional police to clear the entire area.

An outgrowth of this demonstration was the spread of disorder throughout Harlem. Three hundred additional police were ordered to Harlem at the height of the disorder and the Police Commissioner, Michael Murphy, arrived in Harlem during the early morning of July 19, 1964, to observe the situation.

A total of 32 persons were arrested as a result of the incidents which took place which total included the sixteen arrested in the area of the 28th Precinct and sixteen others arrested throughout Harlem on a variety of charges including felonious assault and looting.

Two Negroes were reported shot by the police [redacted] [redacted] who was shot in the spine while looting a pawn shop, and J. L. Jenkins, shot while hurling bricks from a roof at members of the Police Department. Jenkins was reported dead on arrival. Two other Negroes were reportedly shot accidentally. Six members of the NYCPD reportedly were injured, one of whom was stabbed in the shoulder. b6 b7c

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NY 100-153735

The area from 5th to 8th Avenues and from 125th Street South to about 116th Street, was cordoned off by the Police Department, and as of 6:30 a.m., on July 19, 1964, the Harlem area was relatively quiet.

~~SECRET~~ NYPD, July 19, 1964

"The New York Times" issue of July 19, 1964, reported events of July 18, 1964, in part, as follows:

On July 18, 1964, a rally was held at Seventh Avenue and 125th Street by three chapters of CORE. After representatives of CORE had spoken protesting the shooting of James Powell by Police Lt. Thomas Gilligan, the speakers' platform was turned over to speakers representing various other groups including the United African Movement (UAM) and the Harlem PIM. One of the last speakers was the Reverend Nelson C. Dukes of the Fountain Spring Baptist Church, 158 West 126th Street, who called for a march on the West 123rd Street Police Station to demand the arrest of Lt. Gilligan on a murder charge.

After the rally broke up at 3:45 p.m., Reverend Dukes led the crowd down Seventh Avenue to the police station and upon arriving there, attempted to push in through the door but was blocked by police. With the aid of reinforcements, the crowd was pushed across the street at 9:30 p.m. As the police attempted to contain the crowd, bottles, bricks, and covers from refuse cans rained down from the roofs.

More than 500 policeman, including all members of the tactical force were called out to control the mobs. Shots were fired into the air by policemen to disperse the milling crowds. At least 30 people were arrested and many people were injured. Store windows were broken, and there was wide-spread looting.

A group of Harlem leaders met at 123rd Street Station House with Deputy Police Commissioner Philip Walsh. Attending

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NY 100-153735

the meeting were Madison Jones, Executive Director of the City Commission on Human Rights (CCHR); Criminal Court Judge Kenneth M. Phipps and James Lawson of the UANM. It was decided that a letter by Police Commissioner Murphy would be read at all church services in the morning, asking for law and order.

Reverend Dukes was shaken by the developments, and said that if he had known "this" was going to happen, he would not have said anything. ~~... 200~~

At Second Avenue and 76th Street, approximately a half block from the scene of the shooting of James Powell, six young members of the "Fascist-oriented United States Nationalist Party" held a brief meeting on July 18, 1964, in the afternoon to assail civil rights leaders for what was described as rising violence.

A small group of spectators who gathered to hear the speakers reacted with open scorn.

"The New York Times",  
July 19, 1964

July 19, 1964

As of 5:00 p.m., July 19, 1964, there were approximately 300 persons in attendance at a rally at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church on West 122nd Street, New York City, the purpose of which was to protest and condemn police brutality. Persons who identified themselves as being from the PLM were handing out copies of "Challenge", the publication of this group.

At 5:20 p.m., July 19, 1964, Bayard Rustin and approximately 75 Negro youths were observed on the steps of the church. Rustin advised the police that he had gathered

NY 100-153735

these youths together in order to have them go through Harlem that evening to ask people to stay off the streets to forestall the possibility of any additional rioting.

There were no incidents or disturbances at this demonstration.

~~NYDPD, July 20, 1964~~

On July 19, 1964, a rally was held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, at 122nd Street and Mount Morris Avenue West, the leader of which was Jesse Gray; the theme of the rally was "Is Harlem Mississippi". The audience consisted of 500 people, half of whom were Black Nationalists.

Gray called for "100 skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die" to correct a situation which he called "the police brutality situation in Harlem." He stated that one way which could correct the situation is "guerrilla warfare," and he said that the city could be changed by 50,000 well organized Negroes.

Marshall England, the leader of the Harlem Chapter of CORE, said that the Negro people must vote and organize, which caused many in the audience to boo him. Jesse Gray called on Edward Mills Davis, a well known Black Nationalist street speaker, to restore order.

Davis stated that the problem would not be solved by an emotional outburst or by undirected violence. He called on black people who had been in the armed services and who know anything about guerrilla warfare to come to the aid of "Our people." He added, "If we must die, let us die scientifically."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-153735

The final speaker was James Farmer of CORE, who was booed even before he spoke. He talked about the use of firearms by the police during the rioting.

~~SECRET~~ "The New York Times",  
July 20, 1964

As of 8:30 p.m., July 19, 1964, about 2000 Negroes were milling about the funeral parlor, 2250 Seventh Avenue, where the body of James Powell was on view. There had been numerous incidents of missile throwing at police officers by the crowd and an undetermined number of shots were fired by the police to disperse the crowd. Additional police were being ordered to the area of the funeral home.

Jesse Gray called for a march on and a demonstration at the United Nations on July 20, 1964, to ask the United Nations to take cognizance of the Negro situation in Harlem.

As of 10:00 p.m., July 19, 1964, the area from 125th Street to 133rd Street on Seventh Avenue was still the scene of numerous skirmishes between the police and Negro residents, with an estimated several thousand Negroes in the area. The activity consisted mainly of throwing bottles and other objects at the police and they in turn had fired shots only to disperse crowds.

As of 2:15 a.m., July 20, 1964, the situation in Harlem had quieted down and as of 4:45 a.m., things were back to normal with no further demonstrations being reported.

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NY 100-153735

An unofficial tally for the period beginning late on Saturday, July 18, 1964, and ending early Monday, July 20, 1964, indicated that there were 56 persons injured, 115 arrested, one killed, three others shot, and 65 stores in the Harlem area damaged. No police official had as yet characterized the disturbances of July 18-20, 1964, in Harlem as a "riot" but referred to them as a series of unlawful acts.

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NYCPD, July 20, 1964

As 150 persons crowded into the Levy and Delaney Funeral Home, 2250 Seventh Avenue, from which James Powell was being buried, police manned barricades outside. Objects were thrown at the police from the roof tops. Police fired a volley of shots at roof tops which put a stop to the throwing of objects.

As the Powell family departed from the funeral home, a sound truck drew up in front, and Bayard Rustin entered the truck to urge the restless crowd to go home. He was answered by shouts of "Uncle Tom". Rustin replied that he was willing to be a "Tom" if it was the only way to prevent women and children from being shot down in the street. The crowd shouted, "We want Malcolm X." More objects were thrown from the roof tops, and more shots were fired by the police. The outbreak quickly subsided.

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 20, 1964

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NY 100-153735

July 20, 1964

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The Eastern Regional Conference of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club participated in a racial demonstration over the shooting of James Powell. The picket line came within four blocks of the riot area near the funeral home where the body of Powell was reposing. Six CP members were in the group. The group was not involved in violence.

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NY T-125

July 20, 1964

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On July 20, 1964, as of 7:15 p.m., a picketing demonstration was in progress at United Nations Headquarters, New York City, protesting the shooting of James Powell and alleged police brutality. The demonstration began at about 6:30 p.m. with about 250 persons participating representing PLM and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF). No incidents of violence or arrests were reported.

NYCPD

July 20, 1964

As of 4:45 a.m., July 20, 1964, the situation in Harlem had returned to normalcy and no further demonstrations were being reported. An unofficial tally for the period beginning July 18, 1964, and ending July 20, 1964, indicated there were 56 persons injured during the Harlem disturbances, about 115 arrests made, one person was killed, three others shot and about 65 stores in Harlem damaged.

NYCPD

July 20, 1964

NY 100-153735

On July 20, 1964, James Powell was buried at 9:00 a.m. at Ferncliffe Cemetery, Hartsdale, New York. About 30 people attended the burial and no incidents occurred.

NYCPD

July 20, 1964

A group of about 400 persons began assembling at about 10:00 p.m., July 20, 1964, at 125th Street, Harlem, Manhattan, and marched east to First Avenue, New York City, showering garbage at police officers. The crowd proceeded toward the Triborough Bridge and interfered with normal routing of auto traffic. New York City Police fired warning shots and dispersed the crowd. A disturbance was also reported at 11:30 p.m. on July 20, 1964, by approximately 100 Negroes, at 125th Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City. Garbage was hurled at New York City Police officers who fired warning shots and dispersed crowds. Eight persons were arrested.

NYCPD, July 21, 1964

"The New York Times" issue dated July 21, 1964, on page 1, column 6, and page 22, column 6, noted that disturbances in Harlem began shortly before sunset (July 20, 1964). Leaderless groups of Negroes marched up and down Seventh Avenue near 125th Street and onlookers expressed threats and threw bottles at policemen who dispersed crowds with nightsticks and drawn guns. No shots were fired. At 9:30 p.m., police broke up a march by about 1000 Negroes at Second Avenue and 125th Street. A crowd of mostly teenagers, when told by James Farmer, CORE Chairman, at CORE Headquarters, 307 West 125th Street, that Lt. Gilligan would appear before a grand jury, roared, "They should kill him."

Shortly before midnight on July 20, 1964, the police attempted to break up a crowd of shouting youths at 125th Street and Eighth Avenue, but were met by a barrage of bottles and debris.

NY 100-153735

Other gatherings took place that evening at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, 116th Street and Seventh Avenue, 127th Street and Seventh Avenue and 125th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues.

~~SECRET~~

July 21, 1964

As of 12 noon, there were 35 members of CORE picketing in front of City Hall, New York City, and several additional members of CORE were inside City Hall, New York City, demanding to see Acting Mayor Paul Screvane to protest the failure of the NYCPD to arrest or suspend Lt. [redacted] [redacted] NYCPD Officer, who shot and killed James Powell, Negro youth, in New York City, July 16, 1964.

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The CORE pickets stated they would continue the demonstration until granted an interview by either Screvane or Mayor Robert F. Wagner who was due to return to New York City the afternoon (4:30 p.m.) of July 21, 1964.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

At 2:30 p.m., there were fifteen pickets from CORE demonstrating at City Hall, New York City, with an additional 25 to 30 other CORE members in the area, but not picketing.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

As of 5:03 p.m. on July 21, 1964, the following five individuals had been arrested by the NYCPD on charges

NY 100-153735

of disorderly conduct and intrusion on real property, in connection with the picketing then taking place at City Hall, New York City:

[REDACTED] COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING (COH) ~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED] HARLEM PARENTS ASSOCIATION (HPA)

[REDACTED] HPA

[REDACTED] HPA

[REDACTED] MANHATTAN CORE

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b7c

nycpd

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

At 9:45 p.m., there were thirty five pickets at the residence of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, 62nd Street and Fifth Avenue, New York City, protesting the shooting of James Powell. There was no disturbance reported at this picketing.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

Between 10:15 p.m. and 11:10 p.m., fifty persons attended a street meeting in front of the Office of the Integrated Workers of the PLM, 227 East Third Street, New York City. The principal speaker at this meeting was [REDACTED]

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

The purpose of the meeting was to protest police brutality and at 11:10 p.m. on July 21, 1964, the participants moved inside 227 East Third Street, New York City, to continue the meeting.

NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

~~SECRET~~

At 11:00 p.m., the NYCPD sent reinforcements to the areas of Atlantic and Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, and to Fulton Street and Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. About 1000 demonstrators were congregating in the streets at the above two locations and some stores windows had been reported smashed.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

July 22, 1964

At 12:30 a.m., approximately 100 to 150 persons in groups of 25 were gathering in the area of Lenox Avenue between 116th Street and 119th Street, New York City, and the police fired some shots in the air to break up these gatherings.

NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

Commencing at 5:00 p.m., there were 12 pickets at City Hall, New York City. At 9:15 p.m., the pickets from City Hall, New York City, marched to Police Headquarters, 240 Center Street, New York City, and as of 9:50 p.m., the marchers from City Hall, New York City, with a total of 25 pickets from CORE and the HPA were picketing Police Headquarters, New York City. The pickets carried signs demanding the resignation of Police Commissioner Murphy and the trial of Lt. [redacted]

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NY 100-153735

At 10:00 p.m., the number of pickets had grown to 75 and 200 anti-pickets gathered in the area and harrassed the pickets. No outbreak of violence or arrests were made. At 11:00 p.m., the demonstration was discontinued.

~~SECRET~~  
NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

On July 22, 1964, from 9:00 p.m. until 1:00 a.m., on July 23, 1964, there were crowds of Negroes up to 100 in number involved in looting and rioting as reported by the 77th Precinct, NYCPD.

On July 22, 1964, the 79th Precinct, NYCPD reported that looting by groups of Negroes had commenced at 10:30 p.m. on July 22, 1964, and at 4:00 a.m., July 23, 1964, was still going on but subsiding.

On July 22, 1964, during the late evening hours, the 80th and 88th Precincts, NYCPD, reported hundreds of Negro demonstrators participating in mass looting in the Brooklyn area.

NYCPD  
July 23, 1964

About 75 policemen escorting a group of CORE demonstrators to a subway station in lower Manhattan at 11:30 p.m. on July 22, 1964, fought off a group of 200 white teenagers throwing firecrackers and bottles and shouting, "Niggers go home." The incident took place at Broome and Center Streets, New York City. The police waving nightsticks charged into the group of neighborhood teenagers who had jeered the pickets from CORE earlier in the evening outside Police Headquarters, 240 Center Street, New York City.

"The New York Times"  
July 23, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Violence broke out in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn on July 22, 1964, for the third successive night and the police fired volleys of warning shots to disperse the crowds of Negroes. Shortly before midnight patrolmen used their night sticks to clear the area. The police reported nine arrests primarily for looting.

"The New York Times"  
July 23, 1964

On July 22, 1964, violence broke out in Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn, New York. Helmeted policemen fired warning shots over the heads of marauding Negro gangs around Fulton Street and Nostrand Avenue in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, New York. There were approximately 1000 rioters involved.

"The New York Times"  
July 22, 1964

Much of the violence in Harlem early today occurred around 118th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, where the gangs were made up of ten to thirty teenagers and an occasional adult.

"The New York Times"  
July 22, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

July 23, 1964

As of 2:30 p.m., there were 13 pickets at City Hall, New York City, comprised of 10 members of CORE and 3 members of SNCC. The SNCC pickets carried signs indicating they would fast until a civilian review board is established to handle complaints of police brutality and until the Tactical Police Force is removed from the Harlem area of New York City.

NYCPD  
July 23, 1964

~~SECRET~~

The East Side Tenants Council, the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs and other organizations indicated they would participate in a picket line in front of the 9th Precinct, NYCPD, located at East 5th Street, between First and Second Avenues, New York City, from 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. on July 23, 1964. The purpose of this demonstration would be to protest police brutality and also the manner in which the police are handling the racial situation in New York City. ~~X~~ (U)

[ NY T-22  
July 23, 1964 ] ~~X~~ (U)

A demonstration protesting police brutality would be held at the 9th Precinct, NYCPD, between 6:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m., on July 23, 1964, and members of the Forbes Club of the CP would participate in this demonstration. ~~X~~ (U)

[ NY T-13  
July 23, 1964 ] ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Special Agents of the FBI, on July 23, 1964, observed a demonstration directly across the street from the 9th Precinct, NYCPD, 321 East 5th Street, New York City, between 6:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. on that date. The demonstrators, who numbered 20 and were orderly, carried placards, among which stated, "Gestapo Tactics Must Go. Remove Murphy"; "Commissioner Murphy's Racist Arrogance Incites Riots In Harlem. Remove Him"; "White Apathy In The Face of Police Violence Is A Crime Against Humanity", and "Does A Cop With 4 Citations Have To Kill A 15 Year Old Boy To Halt Him?" [REDACTED] and Ed Smith were among the demonstrators.

~~SECRET~~

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Source related the following individuals were among those who took part in the demonstration at the 9th Precinct, NYCPD, on July 23, 1964:



Ed Smith

X (U)

[NY T-32  
July 24, 1964] X (U)

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b7C

The above demonstration was sponsored by the East Side Tenants Council and the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs.

NYCPD, July 23, 1964

As of 7:10 p.m., July 23, 1964, 20 pickets from CORE who were at City Hall, New York City, planned to move to New York City Police Headquarters, 240 Center Street, New York City, where they would resume picketing. The picketing

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

at Police Headquarters was expected to last until 10:00 p.m. or 11:00 p.m., at which time the pickets were to march three abreast to the Lexington Avenue Subway stop located at Canal and Center Streets, New York City. A peak of 100 demonstrators was expected at Police Headquarters, and the normal contingent of police assigned to Headquarters had been augmented due to the fact that on July 22, 1964, anti-demonstrators at Police Headquarters had thrown eggs at CORE pickets. There were no incidents or arrests during the picketing of City Hall on July 23, 1964.

~~SECRET~~

As of 9:45 p.m., July 23, 1964, there were 200 pickets from CORE at NYPD Headquarters, 240 Center Street, New York City, and also 200 white anti-demonstrators were being kept at a distance from the picketing by the NYPD. Five anti-demonstrators were reportedly arrested by the Police Department, but no violence or injuries were reported.

At 11:15 p.m., the CORE pickets had proceeded from New York City Police Headquarters to CORE Headquarters, where they were dispersed.

NYCPD, July 23, 24, 1964

On July 23, 1964, at Police Headquarters in Lower Manhattan, 200 white neighborhood teenagers abused a group of demonstrators from CORE who had been picketing the Headquarters.

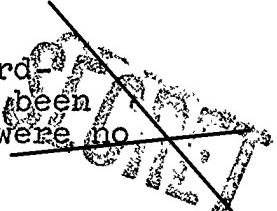
The pickets were escorted by the police to the subway after the teenagers had thrown eggs and firecrackers at them and shouted: "Niggers go home."

CORE leaders said demonstrations against police brutality will continue in front of Police Headquarters, 240 Center Street, New York City. The CORE leaders complained the Police had not given them enough protection against the neighborhood group that jeered them.

"New York Times", issue of July 24, 1964, page 1 Article entitled, "Police Move Heavy Details Into Bedford-Stuyvesant"

NY 100-153735

From 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., July 23, 1964, ten pickets had demonstrated at the 7th Precinct, NYCPD. There were no incidents or arrests made and the picketing was discontinued as of 8:00 p.m.

As of 11:15 p.m., July 23, 1964, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn, seven store windows had been broken, five persons had been arrested, however, there were no reports of violence or injuries. 

NYCPD, July 23, 1964

July 24, 1964

The Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn and the Harlem area were relatively quiet following a night of isolated incidents of looting, resulting in 26 arrests by the NYCPD.

NYCPD, July 24, 1964

At 10:00 a.m., four members of SNCC established a picket line at City Hall, New York City, to protest police brutality.

NYCPD, July 24, 1964

According to [redacted] on July 23, 1964, a demonstration would be held "by us" at City Hall, New York City, the following day at 11:00 a.m., in protest against police brutality. [redacted] indicated she had been out all day organizing and lining up people to attend. [redacted] stated "we" want all of our white friends to attend in order to evidence their solidarity with the Negro people  b6 b7C (U)

[NY T-35  
July 24, 1964]  (U)

A picket line sponsored by the Committee to Advance Racial Integration in the Schools (CARIS) was formed at 11:30 a.m., July 24, 1964, at City Hall, New York City. The pickets, who were mostly white, carried signs protesting police brutality and calling for the establishment of a civilian review board. Special Agents of the FBI observed the following individuals participating in this picket line which numbered approximately 40 individuals:

NY 100-153735



~~SECRET~~

Murray Rosenberg

July 25, 1964

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b7C

The general racial situation in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn and the Harlem area was comparatively quiet. Two isolated incidents occurred at approximately 3:00 a.m. July 25, 1964. Patrolman [REDACTED] shot [REDACTED] Negro, male, 25 years of age. [REDACTED] attacked Patrolman [REDACTED] by striking him across the head and neck with a cane and Patrolman [REDACTED] shot [REDACTED] in the leg. A [REDACTED] Brooklyn, New York, attacked patrolman [REDACTED] with a knife and fists and were arrested in Harlem.

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NYCPD, July 25, 1964

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] contact with several individuals regarding a rally to be held ~~SECRET~~

(u)

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

at 1:30 p.m. that date, at 73rd Street and Amsterdam Avenue, New York City. She stated this rally has the support of the Women's Strike for Peace and that the [redacted] would be a speaker. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

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b7C

~~SECRET~~ NY T-126  
July 25, 1964] ~~(U)~~ (U)

Special Agents of the FBI on July 25, 1964, observed a demonstration at 73rd Street and Amsterdam Avenue, New York City, which demonstration was co-sponsored by the HPA; New York Du Bois Youth Clubs; Women's Strike for Peace; Parents Workshop for Equality; Village Peace Center and the "Catholic Worker." The co-sponsors of this rally were identified on a leaflet passed out at this rally. This rally began at 1:30 p.m. and ended at 3:30 p.m. with approximately 250 in attendance with some 750 on-lookers.

The opening speech was given by [redacted] from the Metropolitan Council on Housing. [redacted] speech was inflammatory, dealing mainly with police brutality. She criticized the killing of James Powell and cited other instances of police killings, which she felt were unwarranted. [redacted] also mentioned the situation in Mississippi, the need for more housing and jobs for Negroes and suggested reading of the writings of James Baldwin and Langston Hughes. [redacted] remarks were greeted by taunts from the crowd across the street.

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b7C

[redacted] Other speakers at this rally echoed the remarks of [redacted] and also were severely booed by the crowd.

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b7C

The main advertised speaker at this rally, [redacted] failed to appear, and excuses were given for this failure.

The rally approved the sending of a telegram to be sent to Mayor Wagner of New York City, the text of the telegram containing the following demands:

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

1. The immediate removal of the Tactical Police Force from Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn.
2. The establishment of a civilian review board.
3. The suspension and arrest of Lt. [redacted]
4. The immediate resignations of Police Commissioner Murphy, [redacted] and [redacted]
5. The establishment of racial balance in Harlem Police Precincts.

~~SECRET~~  
b6  
b7C

Participants in the rally carried placards containing such slogans as, "Keep Police Graft in View With Civilian Review"; "Police Brutality Hurts Both White and Black"; "Put [redacted] Where He Can't Kill Again"; "Give Boys Clubs, Not Billy Clubs" and, "Killer Cops Must Go". Most of the placards bore the notation they were printed by the Du Bois Youth Club.

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b7C

CP officials and members observed in attendance at this rally were Robert G. Thompson, James Allen, [redacted]  
[redacted]

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b7C  
b6  
b7C

[redacted] appeared to be in an official capacity at the rally and was in frequent contact with the speakers platform and directing the activity of individuals passing out leaflets.

b6  
b7C

Prior to the beginning of the rally, [redacted] accompanied by another youth, left the immediate area. Shortly thereafter, [redacted] and several other youths appeared at the rally site carrying the aforementioned placards and leaflets.

NY 100-153735

Also at this rally, though not participating, were representatives of the PLM, who sold the July 25, 1964, issue of "Challenge" and passed out a press release announcing a garment center rally in support of the citizens of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant against police brutality to be held on Tuesday noon, July 28, 1964, at the Northwest corner of 38th Street and Eighth Avenue, New York City. This press release listed the speakers for the July 28th rally as:

[redacted]  
Jesse Gray-Harlem Rent Strike Leader  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

The press release listed the sponsors of this rally as:

Harlem Solidarity Committee  
Brooklyn Civil Rights Defense Committee  
Committee for Peace Organization-Ergo  
Jesse Gray  
PLM  
"Spartacist"  
UAWF  
[redacted] "Liberator"

b6  
b7C

Fifteen pickets from the United States Nationalist Party demonstrated outside City Hall, New York City, on July 25, 1964, from 11:45 a.m. to 1:10 p.m. This demonstration was held to protest the demonstrations which have been staged by CORE. The picketing was peaceful and no incidents arose.

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

At 4:10 p.m., July 25, 1964, there were 50 CORE demonstrators assembled at [redacted] New York City, which included [redacted] of CORE. At 4:30 p.m., these demonstrators, totaling at this time approximately 70, departed and led by [redacted] proceeded to NYPD Headquarters, 240 Center Street, New York City, to continue picketing. This demonstration was orderly and no arrests were made.

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~~SECRET~~

NYCPD, July 25, 1964

New York City Commissioner Murphy on July 24, 1964, banned a Harlem protest march scheduled for the afternoon of July 25, 1964, by the Harlem Defense Council. Mr. Murphy assailed the sponsors of the march as "advocates of violence and disorder who proclaim their doctrines openly."

William Epton, a spokesman for the Harlem Defense Council announced this group would defy the ban, stating, "It is a violation of the Constitutional right to assemble and demonstrate peacefully."

"New York Times, July 25, 1964  
page 1  
Article—"Police Ban March in  
Harlem Today; Sponsors  
Defiant"

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

The Harlem Defense Council attempted to hold a rally on July 25, 1964, at 4:20 p.m. at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. At 4:25 p.m., [redacted] and Conrad Lynn were arrested by officers of the 28th Precinct, NYPD, and were charged with disorderly conduct. [redacted] and Lynn were taken to the 28th Precinct and shortly thereafter were transferred to the 26th Precinct and almost immediately thereafter were removed to the 24th Precinct for security reasons. At 6:05 p.m., [redacted] and Lynn were taken from the 24th Precinct and were taken to night court, where they were released, Lynn without bond and [redacted] in \$1,000 bail.

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There were no incidents or demonstrations arising out of these arrests.

NYCPD, July 25, 1964

July 26, 1964

On July 26, 1964, at 11:50 p.m., two Molotov cocktails were thrown in an unknown manner into a real estate office at 1287 Bushwick Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, and also a bar and grill at 1843 Broadway, Brooklyn, New York. Damage was slight and one individual was reported injured slightly.

The Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant areas were relatively peaceful.

NYCPD, July 26, 1964

July 27, 1964

The situation in the Harlem area and Bedford-Stuyvesant Section of Brooklyn was quiet with no incidents of disorder being reported.

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

July 28, 1964

From 12 noon to 1:00 p.m., a rally was held on 38th Street west of 8th Avenue, New York, New York. It was publicly advertised as being under the sponsorship of the Harlem Solidarity Committee.

Special Agents of the FBI were in attendance and observed proceedings.

[redacted] the principal speaker, closed the rally with a call for removal of the Police Commissioner, prosecution of Lt. [redacted] opening of grand jury hearings to the public, removal of injunctions banning demonstrations in Harlem, and impeachment of Mayor Wagner.

Details of speeches and identities of persons observed in attendance are set forth in Section IV.

At 5:50 p.m., Eddie Davis of the Black Nationalists attempted to conduct a street meeting at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. About 25 people gathered when Inspector [redacted] of the Sixth Division, NYCPD advised Davis of the injunction prohibiting such demonstrations. The meeting was stopped and there were no incidents or arrests.

NYCPD  
July 28, 1964

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b6  
b7c

July 29-31, 1964

No reports of demonstrations or violence were received on these dates.

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (CPUSA)  
INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION IN DEMONSTRATIONS

(U) ~~No Evidence CPUSA Instigated or Inspired  
Harlem Riots~~

Source advised he felt the riots and unrest in Harlem were not instigated or inspired by the CPUSA. He said the rioting actually caught the CP by surprise.

Source related Gus Hall was very interested in the events in Harlem, but Hall did not give any evidence of any CP participation therein.

(U)

[NY T-59  
July 21, 1964]

(U)

Source advised nothing was said at the National Committee (NC) meeting July 18, 1964-July 19, 1964, which implied that the CPUSA had any control, participation or prior knowledge of riots in Harlem on July 18-19, 1964.

(U)

On July 19, 1964, Robert Thompson spoke of these riots and indicated a complete surprise of these events. Informant stated CP is not in favor of riots.

(U)

Source further related he had ascertained the CP maintains no headquarters in the Harlem area.

(U)

[NY T-19  
July 21, 1964]

(U)

July 19, 1964

(U) ~~NC, CPUSA, Hears Report on Harlem Riots~~

The NC, CPUSA, and invited guests, met on July 19, 1964, at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York City.

(U)

NY 100-153735

At this meeting, Robert Thompson discussed the rioting in Harlem, linking the rioting with the nomination of Senator Goldwater and with alleged police brutality. Thompson referred to a racial demonstration to be held at the UN Headquarters at 6:00 p.m. on July 20, 1964. According to Thompson, the Party would send [redacted] and others to a meeting of the organizers of this demonstration to assist the latter. The Party, according to Thompson, did not desire that any white CP member attend the said demonstration. ~~X~~

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(U)

[NY T-19  
July 19, 1964] ~~X~~

(U)

At the July 19, 1964 session of the above meeting, Robert Thompson talked about the riots in Harlem. Thompson stated there were vicious anti-Negro elements on the New York Police Department and urged the recall of Mayor Wagner of New York City, who was then in Europe. Thompson added that some of the people who had been in attendance at a meeting of the NC the previous day were absent and were in Harlem observing the situation to get information for an article for "The Worker." ~~X~~

(U)

Following the meeting, the source ascertained several CP functionaries went to the vicinity of the Mt. Morris Park Presbyterian Church, Mt. Morris Park and 122nd Street, New York City, where they met Robert Thompson, William L. Patterson, Michael Davidow and Theodore Bassett, who were attending a rally. ~~X~~

(U)

Source related he did not observe the CP had any direction or control of any of the activities. Source added there was no indication the CP had any control or influence on the riots occurring in Harlem. ~~X~~

(U)

[NY T-18  
July 21, 1964] ~~X~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

CP Officials Attend Protest Rally in Harlem

A photograph taken at the rally at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church, supra, was made available to the New York Office. This photograph shows William L. Patterson and Robert Thompson in the audience.

~~SECRET~~ NY T-127

July 20, 1964

(U)

(U) Gus Hall Incensed Over CP Officials Attendance  
At Protest Rally

Gus Hall was incensed at Robert Thompson for having been in attendance at a rally at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church in Harlem on July 19, 1964, as a result of which Thompson was photographed by the press. Hall said this incident was the cause of considerable embarrassment to the CPUSA. ~~X~~

(U)

Hall referred to a photograph in the New York "Daily News" on July 22, 1964, of Thompson and William L. Patterson at a protest rally at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church. Accompanying the aforesaid "Daily News" photograph was a news article noting that on the evening of July 19, 1964, following the protest meeting, rioting occurred in Harlem. ~~X~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~ NY T-45

July 23, 1964

(U)

(U) CP Members Observed in Picket Line in Vicinity  
Funeral Home Where James Powell Reposing

The following six CP members were observed in a picket line on July 19, 1964, in the vicinity of the funeral

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

home where the body of James Powell was reposing:



~~SECRET~~

(U)

NY T-125  
July 20, 1964 and  
August 3, 1964

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X (U)

July 20, 1964

CP Members Participate in Picket Line at  
United Nations

On the evening of July 20, 1964, a demonstration was held at United Nations Headquarters, New York City. The demonstration commenced at 6:00 p.m., with approximately 250 people participating.

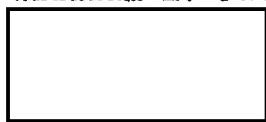
Special Agents of the FBI observed the following individuals at this demonstration, most of whom are members of the CP:

Connie Bart  
Ted Bassett

Mike Davidow



William L. Patterson



b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]  
Robert Thompson

[REDACTED]  
Jim Tormey

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

Among those who participated in this demonstration at which Jesse Gray spoke, were:

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

On July 19, 1964, [REDACTED] instructed a member of the CP to contact four other persons to get them to participate in the demonstration. This was the procedure used, that is, different people were assigned persons to call to enlist their participation. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

[REDACTED] stated that the decision to get a list of names of people to contact to participate was a result of a meeting of the "executive committee". The source assumes that this was a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Kings County CP. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

NY T-17  
July 22, 1964

~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Among the participants at the above demonstration were:



~~SECRET~~

~~X~~

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b7C

[NY T-33  
July 22, 1964]

~~X~~

(U)

(U) [July 21, 1964]

CP Opposes Demonstrations Until Racial Situation Eases

James Tormey, on July 21, 1964, stated the CP apparatus is against demonstrations or mass rallies in the Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant Sections until the racial situation eases. He pointed out demonstrations and mass rallies could only cause more racial trouble. Tormey stated the CP is in favor of having demonstrations in white areas in an effort to get more white people to side with Negroes. ~~X~~ (U)

[ ] on July 21, 1964, blamed the entire racial situation on people like [ ] said the PLM is reckless and people in it have no concern for the fate of the Negro people. [ ] continued that Progressive Labor believes now is the time for "the revolution." He described this as "foolish." ~~X~~

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b7C

(U)

[NY T-12  
July 21, 1964]

~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

(U) ~~West Side CP Club Members Allege Participation  
in Picket Line~~

During a meeting of a CP Club of the West Side Section, New York District, CP, [redacted] stated she and [redacted] had marched in a picket line sponsored by the West Side Civil Rights Committee, which took place during the afternoon of July 21, 1964, outside the 24th Precinct, NYCPD.

b6  
b7c

(U)

NY T-14  
July 22, 1964

(U)

No demonstration took place at the 24th Precinct on July 21, 1964, as described above.

NYCPD  
August 3, 1964

(U) ~~A~~ July 22, 1964

(U) ~~CP Official Concerned Over Role Of  
Jesse Gray and Black Nationalists~~

William L. Patterson, on July 22, 1964, expressed concern regarding the recent violence in Harlem. He stated that it must end as soon as possible and expressed concern over the role of the black nationalists and that of Jesse Gray. He felt that Gray had a hand in stirring up some violence and that it had been deliberate on his part. Patterson stated that there have been some meetings between Gray and the CP at which Patterson had been present and that at these meetings Gray had agreed to forget his idea of "mobilizing what would have amounted to a guerrilla force". However, according to Patterson, Gray did attempt to set up this force but with less success than Gray had hoped for. Patterson, at no time, indicated that CP members should foment violence of any kind. Patterson requested attempts be made to influence white pro-integration parent groups.

(U)

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together with religious leaders in white communities to sponsor a meeting to support the setting up of a civilian review board and additional services particularly for the youth of Harlem, that would eliminate the basic causes of the rioting. ~~(S)~~ (U)

NY T-36

July 23, 1964

~~(S)~~ (U)

CPUSA Issues Statement on Harlem Situation

On July 22, 1964, William L. Patterson was in contact with [redacted] of "The New York Times" newspaper and gave [redacted] a statement which he said was from the New York District CP. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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This statement which was entitled, "Mr. Screvane-Harlem and Terror," reads as follows: ~~(S)~~ (U)

Acting Mayor Paul Screvane has charged Communists with the responsibilities for the blood letting and terror loosed in Harlem streets. Through employment of this monstrous lie, Screvane seeks to hide the guilty. He provides war munitions to the camp of the most implacable enemies not only of Negro citizens but the entire nation. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The slum lords and monopolists who use the ghetto for a dumping ground for rotting goods sold at exorbitant prices can benefit by this burst of anti-Communism invoked to hide the hell of ghetto life and shield those responsible, but Harlem and the nation are the losers. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Who is there that does not know that the murder of a 15 year old Negro school lad sparked the terror drive spearheaded by New York Police at whose head stands the man selected by the Mayor of the city. ~~(S)~~ (U)

The CP has never ceased to condemn violence as a means of eliminating ghetto life and its monstrous evils. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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The CP has never ceased to advocate and work for the unity of those who see and know the ghetto to be a weapon of terror and oppression. From its inception the CP has demanded the elimination of the ghetto and advanced a program of building new hospitals, homes, schools, parks and recreation spots that will make what was the ghetto attractive to all Americans. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Mr. Screvane's big lie is an incitement to a police force that cannot but reflect the racist policies of an administration calloused to the democratic demands of its Negro citizens. The big lie is a splitting tactic against those seeking unity in democratic struggle for equality of rights and opportunity. The CP brands this Screvane maneuver as an act endorsing the continuation of police terror. The CP demands equal time to answer this scurrilous lie loosed by Mr. Screvane. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Indict the man who murdered James Powell Mr. Mayor. Indemnify his parents and other victims of police terror. Banish Jim Crow and segregation from every sphere of New York's life. The CP demands these steps in furtherance of American democracy and as an end to American racism. Signed Robert Thompson, William L. Patterson. Patterson said this will speak for the Party. ~~(S)~~ (U)

NY T-128

July 22, 1964

~~(S)~~ (U)

(U)

West Side CP Club Instructed to Support  
~~X~~ Demands of CORE

On July 22, 1964, members of Club number 1, West Side Section, New York District CP, were instructed by the club leadership to support the demands of ~~██████████~~ of CORE, concerning the establishment of a civilian review board to review cases of police brutality in New York City, the assignment of more Negroes as police officers in Harlem and the immediate setting up of plans to improve social, housing and employment conditions in Harlem. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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NY T-52

July 23, 1964

~~(S)~~ (U)

NY 100-153735

(U) ~~July 23, 1964~~

(U) ~~CP Official Interviewed Re Association With [redacted]~~

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On July 23, 1964, [redacted] who identified himself as a reporter for the "New York World Telegram and Sun" newspaper, was in contact with William L. Patterson

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[redacted] inquired of Patterson whether it was true that he, in 1961, offered [redacted] \$1,000 a month and expenses to form a black nationalist organization in New York City. Patterson denied this and branded it as a lie. In fact, Patterson said that [redacted] once approached him and asked if Patterson would give him \$1,000 to form such an organization. ~~X~~

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b7C

Patterson said he refused [redacted] and called him an FBI Agent and a terrorist. ~~X~~

b6  
b7C

[redacted] inquired of Patterson to comment on charges that Communist agitators are trying to whip up disorders in New York City. Patterson said these charges are made to conceal the real culprits, those responsible for not attempting for years to meet the demands Negroes have made to end police brutality and to eliminate the ghettos. ~~X~~

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NY T-128  
July 23, 1964

(U)

(U) ~~CP Members Participate in Picket Line,  
9th Precinct, NYCPD~~

Five members of the CPUSA were observed participating in a picket line on July 23, 1964, at the 9th Precinct, NYCPD, 321 East 5th Street, New York City. They were [redacted] and Ed Smith. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-32  
July 24, 1964

(U)

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~~SECRET~~

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The above picket line was sponsored by the East Side Tenants Council and the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs.

~~SECRET~~ NYCPD, July 23, 1964

(U)

~~SECRET~~ July 24, 1964

Robert Thompson Reports on Race Riots in Harlem

A meeting of leading CP functionaries was held at CP Headquarters, New York City, on July 24, 1964. Among those in attendance were:

Robert Thompson  
Irving Potash  
Jack Stachel  
Jesus Colon  
Eric Bert

[redacted]  
Theodore Bassett  
Michael Davidow

X (U) b6 b7c

The meeting opened with a report by Robert Thompson on the racial riots in Harlem. Thompson stated that with reference to police brutality "what you had was the police running amok, indiscriminately clubbing lots of the kids that were running about on the streets, just anybody and everybody that came within reach." Thompson said it was unquestionably a planned thing. He described the police as a body of armed men that X

(U)

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~~SECRET~~

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were terror stricken and just striking out right and left without rhyme or reason. Thompson continued in substance as follows:

I want to pass quickly if ~~it may go to the~~ organized, planned aspects of this. Unquestionably, this unleashing of the full provocation and violence, starting with Harlem on Saturday, was an element of providing a cover and a justification for the Police Department and specifically for Police Officer [redacted] in the murder of James Powell, the schoolboy. Unquestionably, in my opinion, the action was motivated by an effort to create a kind of enormous provocation and frame with which this act of calculated violence against this young lad would be obscured and justified. That, I am sure, is one of the elements in the picture. However, this element, which would have been there under any circumstances, takes place in this situation within a much larger frame; and that is the fact that those who want to thwart the social forces in this country, who want to move this country to the Right, who want to move in the direction of a Fascist trend of development, are calculating in the first place.

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(U)

The cornerstone of this tragedy in the first place is that of the calculation of the ability to arouse within the country on a nationwide and mass scale, a wave of anti-Negro, racist feeling and action that will bring about the kind of political realignment that they require in order to achieve their aims. What happened basically in New York was the first really large, major culmination of a strategy that is in a conscious way moving nationally in this direction.

(U)

What we are dealing with in this situation is a very well planned network of not Ultra-Right crackpots, although it includes these, but of hard headed, keen planners on the Right, with their connections made over the last number of years in each of the major parties, based on the Republican Party, but in each of the major parties, and extending into the organized circles of all

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

the professional organizations, extending in many areas into labor organizations, to one degree or another, and most certainly extending into the high circles of the Government agencies, the FBI, Pentagon, et cetera, and into the Police Departments. ~~X~~ (U)

And this thing that has been ~~happening~~ the last week in New York, there is an element of accident in timing, but in the strategy of it, in the calculated setting of this trend in motion and of counting upon consequences of it, there is no element of accident in that. That is a planned thing. The extent of the unrestrained display of brutality in those areas, that is a deliberate, calculated thing designed to create in the country a kind of situation where the conscious forces of reaction would be able to create an atmosphere best suited to their aim of arousing a wave of racist feeling that is a prerequisite for a victory for these Goldwater forces this year, or at least a substantial advance on their part. ~~X~~ (U)

Now insofar as the situation within the community and within the civil rights movement itself. As far as any direct reaction to the major provocation that has taken place here in New York, there has been remarkably little in this state from the point of view of reaction on the part of the leadership of predominantly white organizations, labor or community. And the fact is that there has been in this situation, there has been a very understandable but nevertheless very disturbing growth of Nationalist mood and feeling in the Negro community. ~~X~~ (U)

I think (Bayard) Rustin could have been much more eloquent than he is; or   much more ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

NY 100-153735

eloquent; or anybody else much more eloquent. If there had been some big announced action going on outside of Harlem, outside of Bedford-Stuyvesant, directed at City Hall, directed at the Police Department, this would have had ten times the impact on the thinking, the feeling, the actions. This has been the central problem. It remains the central problem. This is why basically there has been a growth, let us say to a disturbing and an alarming point, of a Nationalist feeling among the Negro organizations. ~~(S)~~

(U)

There is the Police Department, the FBI, there are diverse groupings operating in the Negro community as well as elsewhere, there is money flowing into this movement from diverse sources, and there are with it of course the agent provocateur and other elements at work. There is, for example, one [redacted] [redacted] (who) is really an FBI man. And with that you have the operation of elements like Progressive Labor and the Trotskyites and so forth who, half of them are FBI Agents. They put out things like this tract on how to make Molotov cocktails and distribute it around. Or they call something, such as has been done for this next Saturday, in the name of the so-called Harlem Defense Committee, which is nothing more than a name. ~~(S)~~

(U)

They are going to get out fifty thousand leaflets which call in Harlem for a mobilization and march on the Police Station, which is the most provocative g-- d----d thing that could happen. At the same time, you have now to a greater extent the beginning of a gathering together and speaking out of the militant, solid leadership of the Negro community. ~~(S)~~

(U)

The thing that is most essential is to transfer the arena of action and struggle at this moment outside of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant and direct it at City Hall. ~~(S)~~

(U)

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at the Headquarters of the Police, at the areas of City, State and Governmental power outside of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Now why has there not been greater action in the white communities, in white organizations? Well, we have been asking ourselves that question all week long. There has been a great deal of effort put into it, I can assure you of that in the limited strength of our Party and certain other conscious forces. I will tell you one reason why I think the response has been limited. I would like to get your thinking on this also. I think that in labor and political circles there has been a very considerable doubt and hesitation as to how their white membership or constituents would react to this situation. I think some of that is becoming resolved, but I think that was an element, that people who normally would react on their own initiative, did not react in this situation as they otherwise could have been expected to react. I think this is one of the factors in this situation. ~~SECRET~~

(U)

In these United States in 1964, the use of chauvinism and anti-Negro feeling is aiding the fascist forces even more so than during the rise of Hitler in Germany. This is one thing the overall situation (in Harlem) in which we have a very vital interest. It is a situation in which we have every possibility in terms of regrouping of the democratic forces, the whole process of democratic forces in our country. ~~X~~ ~~SECRET~~

(U)

Lastly, I would observe I have no doubt that there were many things that were overlooked but by and large I am quite proud of what our party did and what our youth did. I think we came off as a party and our youth came off with a particular, considering our relative strength, with a respectable showing in the struggle and its many facets. ~~X~~ ~~SECRET~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

William L. Patterson noted that some may feel there is no basis for the anti-Communist cry in the light of the relative weakness of "our forces" and yet this cry of anti-Communism is evidence of "our potential strength." He added, "And it comes against our cry, our insistent cry of Negro-white unity." ~~(U)~~

Patterson said the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has gotten out a leaflet finally, calling for Negroes in administrative offices. He said, "This and other voices added to our call for a Negro downtown can be effective." ~~(U)~~

Robert Thompson in summarizing said in substance: ~~(U)~~ ~~(U)~~

The task of our Party in the Negro community and in the civil rights movement is enormous and vital, and given the resources of our Party, it places an enormous responsibility on our Party and particularly on the Negro leadership and comrades of our Party. The central problem is to move this labor movement and to move the white communities and predominantly white organizations. We as a Party and in the first place the white comrades must succeed in moving in a tangible and substantial way sectors of the labor movement and the predominantly white communities and organizations into action on this question. This is a fight not for Negroes, this is a fight for America. ~~(U)~~

NY T-2  
July 24, 1964

(U) CP Member Calls for Support in CARIS Picket  
Line

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According to [redacted] on July 23, 1964, a demonstration would be held "by us" at City Hall, New York City. ~~(U)~~

(U)

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the following day at 11:00 a.m. in protest against police brutality. [redacted] indicated she had been out all day organizing and lining up people to attend. [redacted] stated "we" want all of our white friends to attend in order to evidence their solidarity with the Negro people. ~~(S)~~

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(U)

NY T-35  
July 24, 1964 X (U)

On July 24, 1964, Special Agents of the FBI observed a picket line sponsored by CARIS at 11:30 a.m. in front of City Hall, New York City.

Among those observed were:

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[redacted] Murray Rosenberg and  
[redacted] all of whom have attended CPUSA meetings.

July 25, 1964

CP Leader Appears in Official Capacity at Civil Rights Rally

On July 25, 1964, Special Agents of the FBI observed a rally at Amsterdam Avenue and 73rd Street, New York City. Speakers at this rally pointed their remarks to police brutality and housing conditions regarding the Negro people.

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[redacted] appeared to be in an official capacity at this rally, being in frequent contact with the speakers platform and directing the activities of individuals passing out leaflets.

Prior to the beginning of the rally, [redacted] left the rally site, returning shortly thereafter with several youths carrying leaflets and placards primarily charging police brutality.

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NY 100-153735

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CP members observed at this rally were:  
Robert Thompson, James Allen.

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Source advised [redacted] on July 25, 1964, had been in contact with several individuals urging them to attend this rally. \*

(U)

NY T-126  
July 25, 1964

\*

(U)

July 26, 1964

(U) District CP Trade Union Commission told  
CPUSA Against Harlem Riots

At a meeting of the New York District CP Trade Union Commission held in New York City on July 26, 1964, James Tormey stated that the Party was against the rioting and looting that took place in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. They felt, however, that the causes of this were there for some time, these being frustration, unemployment, et cetera, and all it needed was a spark to set it off, such as the shooting of the Powell boy. \*

(U)

Tormey stated that the Party forbade any of its white comrades to participate in the Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant picket lines, instead they were asked to work in white neighborhoods if possible. They did send some Negro comrades into Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant to see what was going on, but not to work with the extremist groups. \*

(U)

Tormey mentioned that he felt Jesse Gray was becoming more of a Negro Nationalist and thus moving away from the Party's position. Also, he stated that [redacted] was an FBI Agent and so the CP had nothing to do with him. \*

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NY 100-153735

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Tormey stated the Party was pleased with the responsible Negro leaders like [ ] (af CORE) who calmed the people and asked them to go home. However, the Party didn't like the actions of [ ] or his group and felt that because of them the CPUSA's image would be damaged. The reason being people don't think, they only remember the headlines, and some of the papers don't bother to say that [ ] and his group don't belong to the CPUSA and that the Party has nothing to do with them. He stated that the Party has no idea where the [ ] group gets its money. ~~(U)~~

b6  
b7C

The Party also feels they will have problems with white people, because of these riots they will vote for Goldwater because he is not for the Negro. Therefore, the white comrades in their mass work must work against this idea. ~~(U)~~

NY 100-  
July 26, 1964

~~(U)~~

July 27, 1964

(U) ~~X~~ CP Leaders Informally Discuss Harlem Situation

An informal discussion of New York District CP functionaries took place on July 27, 1964, at CP Headquarters, New York City. ~~(U)~~

[ ] James Tormey said that the [ ] and the [ ] "will not talk to us" but the others will. He told both Robert Thompson and William L. Patterson that some criticism concerning their picture being in the paper has been raised. Tormey indicated that a statement was being prepared criticizing the press for putting blame on the Communists for the riots. ~~(U)~~

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NY 100-153735

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Robert Thompson spoke of the rally held at 73rd Street and Amsterdam Avenue, New York City on July 25, 1964. This rally was held under the auspices of the Unite New York for Freedom, an Ad Hoc Committee of seven groups, one of which was the W. E. DuBois Club, a CP youth organization. Thompson said the CP had failed to distribute literature, yet the PLM was able to distribute its material. Thompson said this is a real problem and the CP must better organize itself. ~~(U)~~

Thompson said "We were able to get participation of some of our people in some of the CORE actions and one or two other things but that was it". ~~(U)~~

Patterson said the CP is going to get out a document in which it disassociates itself from the [redacted] group. ~~(U)~~

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NY T-5  
July 27, 1964

~~(U)~~

(U) ~~X~~ District CP Board Hears Report  
on Harlem Riots

A meeting of the New York District CP Board was held on July 27, 1964, at Academy Hall, 853 Broadway, New York City. ~~(U)~~

Robert Thompson reviewed the racial situation in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant areas. He informed the New York District Board that the Party would not and does not work with the extremist groups such as PLM and the Nationalists, instead the Party would work with groups such as CORE, NAACP and Negro American Labor Council (NALC). ~~(U)~~

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Betty Gannett asked Thompson if Jesse Gray was a Nationalist or drifting in that direction. Thompson replied that he felt he could not say if Gray was part of the Nationalist or PLM, however, he is surrounded by them and, therefore, they have influenced him. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Continuing, Thompson said that the labor organizations did not help or do enough in the racial situation because he, Thompson, felt they did not know where their membership stood on this problem. He said that it was up to CORE, NAACP, NALC, the major political organizations and the labor movement to stand together and help improve the conditions in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Thompson also stated that he, William L. Patterson and [redacted] attended a rally in the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church, New York City, on July 19, 1964. He said that they wanted to speak but the opportunity for them to do so did not arise. He said that after the meeting they did talk to individuals outside to find out what was going on. ~~(S)~~ (U)

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NY T-4  
July 28, 1964

~~(S)~~ (U)

July 28, 1964

(U) ~~(S)~~ CP, USA Secretariat Discusses PLM

A meeting of the Secretariat, CPUSA, was held on July 28, 1964, at CP Headquarters, New York City. Among those attending were:

ROBERT THOMPSON  
Gus Hall

~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

William L. Patterson  
James Jackson  
Jack Stachel

~~SECRET~~

(U)

Thompson opened the meeting by commenting on the PLM. He said that the problem that confronts "us" is not simply that of exposure of the police agent character of PLM but also to develop an effective ideological and political polemic regarding this; disassociating "our" Party from this camp (PLM). Thompson said that coupled with an exposure of their role and a polemic against their whole basic philosophical outlook, "we" must distinguish between "our" Party and other groups who call themselves Communist. ~~(S)~~ (U)

Gus Hall added his comments saying "we" need a real basic discussion among ourselves. I don't think its enough to say that among them there are police agents and, therefore, they are provocateurs. There are police agents among them but that is not the only reason why they are provocative and racist. Hall thought that the basic estimate of them must go in the very fundamental direction that they are a petty bourgeois, opportunistic element. They are fundamentally anti-Communist, anti-working class. It is because of these fundamental questions that they are provocative and dangerous. The Party, said Hall, must find ways of speaking out in the clearest possible fashion as to what is Party policy, Party role and the projection of the Party's position. Hall said "we" must draw up a very fundamental political statement on why these people (PLM) are not Communists and that the designation of "Communist" is a cover for all kinds of elements. Hall said "we" have to find ways of basically and fundamentally disassociating the Party from these ~~(S)~~ (U) elements.

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Patterson said there must be an understanding that unity is for us a basic factor, not only unity of Negro and white but unity of Negroes. The [redacted] group" (PLM) has organization, a paper, a program. They are making a very definite challenge to us. Patterson said "we've" got to show what the people's role is and what our role is in the struggle to place the pressure to see that there is enforcement of the civil rights law. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

Jackson said "we" need a full statement which defines our points sharply. ~~(U)~~

(U)

[NY T-2  
July 28, 1964] ~~(U)~~

CP Official Expresses Concern Over  
Situation  
(U)

Source advised Claude Lightfoot was in contact with Gus Hall on July 28, 1964, relative to the racial situation. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

Lightfoot advised Hall he was worried, stating "we" are taking a terrible beating all over the country on the [redacted] situation. ~~(U)~~

According to the source, Lightfoot stated that this was a national question and not something for just New York State. Lightfoot was of the opinion that a press conference should be called to present before the President and the country the CP's view on the situation that exists. Lightfoot further informed Hall that every paper and television station in the country is portraying this guy [redacted] as a Communist and "we" cannot let him speak for our Party. Lightfoot said "we" must differentiate ourselves from these "S.O.B.s", adding that the ultra-right is playing this "up to the hilt." The source advised that Gus Hall told Lightfoot that the matter was being discussed. ~~(U)~~

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NY100-153735

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NY T-48

July 28, 1964

(U)

July 30, 1964

Gus Hall Holds Press Conference Re  
Harlem Riots.

The scheduled press conference of the CP USA was held on July 30, 1964, at CP Headquarters, New York City.

Gus Hall, before reading his press statement, said the NYCPD needed a distraction to cover its bloody tracks and the red scare has been used as a camouflage from Hitler to Al Capone. Police Commissioner Murphy needed a discredited threat calling itself the PLM to say they are Communists and (U) they are for violence. ~~X~~

In his statement Hall said that during the explosion in Harlem, a small band of self proclaimed Communists was brought into the spotlight with the helping hand of the police and the news media. This band, the PLM, projected an action, called by HALL as irresponsible and hair brained adventurism.

Those responsible for the existence of police brutality now seek to smear the wrathful reaction of the Negro people as being no more than a response to a "Communist..." Attention is thus diverted from the real culprits, the real source of the Negro peoples anger. According to Hall this was the meaning of sending the FBI to Harlem and the reason for the lying accusation of Acting Mayor Sarevane, that the discord was the work of infiltrators from the CP.

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Hall said that PLM members are not Communists and that their antics and irresponsible actions have nothing in common with Communism or the position of the CP. In fact, said Hall, the leaders of PLM were expelled from the CP some years ago after a long history of adventurism and that PLM exists only as a "parasitic parasite" on the body of the Negro Freedom Movement.

Hall said the CP has always condemned any acts of violence and terror. The CP stands for militant mass actions and struggles aimed at the achievements of specific gains on the path to Negro freedom. The Party stands for organized actions which will bring together the greatest possible numbers of Americans directed against the forces of racism and the right-wing reaction, against the monopoly inspired oppressors of the Negro people. Above all, Hall said, the Party constantly strives for the ever greater unity of Negro and white Americans as a prerequisite to victory in this all important fight for the fundamental democratic rights of all Americans.

A question and answer period followed with William L. Patterson and Henry Winston, participating with Hall. In answer to a question, Patterson stated there were no Communist representatives participating in the Harlem riots and that there were no outstanding Communist leaders taking part in any of the rallies in Harlem.

Patterson continued that he was not in touch as to whether there were any "secondary leaders" or not.

In this question and answer period, Hall said the CP had not called any demonstrations during the Harlem riots but that the CP would support mass activities of the type of action such as the March on Washington of August 28, 1963.

NY 100-153735

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In answer to a question, Hall said the CP is ever growing and becoming more influential, adding, "we are satisfied with our progress so far". Hall was then asked if his position was that Communists took no part in the riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Hall replied, "No, I'm not saying that at all," and added Communists are active political workers in all sections of the city. They are active in Harlem, but "Communists did not instigate or advocate violent overthrow in Harlem. Communists advocate mass actions, mass developments for people's victory."

Hall was then asked again what part did they play. Hall replied, "I think generally the role that Communists play in the struggle, including the civil rights struggle, that we work out policies and programs and ideas of struggle, and project these not only for Communists but for all people in the fight for civil rights."

NY T-2  
July 30, 1964

(U)

(U)

~~SECRET~~ CP Role in Current Racial Strife Discussed

On July 30, 1964, a meeting of CP leaders was held at CP Headquarters, New York City. Among those in attendance were:

Robert Thompson  
Jack Stachel  
Hyman Lumer  
Arnold Johnson  
Irving Potash  
Henry Winston  
William Patterson  
James Jackson  
James Tormey

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The discussion centered mainly on the role of the CP in the current racial strife. They also discussed factors that will affect the coming presidential election. ~~X~~ (U)

Robert Thompson said that the immediate effect of events in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant has created some real problems and raises the dangerous possibility that the Goldwater forces will be able to use this to their advantage. He said the CP is going to have to play a more effective role than it has up to this point. Thompson mentioned the importance of the Democratic Party Convention and the shaping of the various platform planks. He also said it is important for the Negroes to register to vote and that the CP must undertake a program that will have an impact not only on the Negro peoples, but the labor and white forces as well. ~~X~~ (U)

Jack Stachel spoke of the need for Negro trade unionists to play a more meaningful role so they could be the means of communication between the white workers and the Negro community as a whole. Stachel mentioned the role of the CP has not yet been determined and the role they have been playing is not what they would like to play because the party is "not well enough--". He suggested a meeting of county organizers where they could gather material to see where they are strong and where they are weak, and then make their plans. ~~X~~ (U)

Hyman Lumer said they must deal with what Goldwater's candidacy means to the working class as a whole and that they need literature for distribution. ~~X~~ (U)

Arnold Johnson said the organized campaign by Goldwater and the ultra-right should not be underestimated. ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

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Irving Potash said he thought the statement of the Negro leaders (to limit demonstrations for the present) is important and can be used to get a good reaction in the trade unions. He did not interpret the statement to mean there should be no mass actions in connection with political activities. Potash also said in relation to the Press conference CP leaders held earlier that day they should consider how to make the essence of this Press conference available to either "The Worker" or some other publication ~~X~~ (U)

Henry Winston stressed the importance of Negro unity to meet the danger of Goldwater. He thought the party should not underestimate their great responsibility in Harlem and that there is an immediate need for a headquarters in Harlem. He said the CP has a tremendous support among Negro people and with an energetic and organized campaign they could drive organizations like the PLM out of Harlem. Winston said this should be number one on the agenda and that 25,000 or 50,000 copies of the program they presented to the press that morning should be distributed in Harlem proper. ~~X~~ (U)

William Patterson commented that every effort should be made to be sure these struggles do not have elements of violence. ~~X~~ (U)

James Jackson said they would have to affirm their confidence in the white working masses in America. ~~X~~ (U)

James Tormey said the police department has tried to reverse responsibility for setting off this violence and there are too many people who accept the newspaper versions on the question of vandalism and looting. Many think the Negro people are going too far. Tormey said they must emphasize the necessity of working through the labor movement and through other mass organizations. ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

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NY T-2  
July 30, 1964

(U)

(U) Claude Lightfoot Complains Over Not Being Consulted Regarding CP Statement

On July 30, 1964, Claude Lightfoot was in contact with Gus Hall. Lightfoot complained to Hall because he, Lightfoot, as a leader of the Party, was not consulted regarding the CP statement. Hall informed Lightfoot that he had a legitimate gripe "but that it was done under real pressure." Hall said that Hyman Lumer wrote it as part of a committee of Lumer, James (Jackson) and Hall. (U)

Hall told Lightfoot that he should hold a press conference in Chicago. Lightfoot appeared to be hesitant but Hall informed him that the Press Conference in New York did not get national coverage and Hall felt another one should be held in Chicago. (U)

Hall said it should be determined how to circulate the statement and consideration is being given to the possible issuance of a leaflet. (U)

NY T-48  
July 30, 1964

(U)

Organizations Evidencing Interest and/or Participating in Demonstrations

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Location of Headquarters

National Headquarters of CORE are located at 38 Park Row, New York City. Various local chapters of CORE are located throughout the City of New York.

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Nature of Organization

CORE is a national organization with affiliated local groups committed to the goal of erasing the color line through methods of direct non-violent action. All groups affiliated with national CORE agree to follow the non-violent procedure in all action which they sponsor.

"CORE Rules for Action"

Activities During Racial Demonstrations

It should be noted with regard to the CORE demonstrations listed below that in many instances these demonstrations were sponsored by one or by several of the local chapters of CORE in the New York City area, and ~~not~~ necessarily sponsored by the national headquarters of CORE. Where the local chapter of CORE participating in the demonstration is known, it is set forth below as reported by the source indicated.

| <u>Date and Time</u>       | <u>Nature of Demonstration</u>   |
|----------------------------|--|
| July 18, 1964<br>7:00 p.m. | Rally under sponsorship of Downtown and East River chapters of CORE was being held at southwest corner of 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, to protest shooting of Negro youth James Powell. Some of these demonstrators marched three abreast on Seventh Avenue south to the area of the 28th Precinct, New York City Police Department (NYCPD), located at 123rd Street and Seventh Avenue, to conduct |

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a demonstration at that location. The demonstration at the precinct commenced at about 8:45 p.m. Members of the above CORE chapters participated in this demonstration. The number of demonstrators outside the 28th Precinct reached approximately 400.

NYCPD  
July 19, 1964

July 19, 1964

[redacted] CORE, made the statement that if the situation in Harlem did not improve, he would request Governor

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Rockefeller to send troops into the area to protect the residents of Harlem.

NYCPD  
July 20, 1964

July 21, 1964

Downtown Chapter of CORE had made application to New York City Housing Authority for permission to hold meeting within confines of Lillian

Wald Housing Project, Lower East Side, New York City, regarding the shooting of James Powell. Permission for such meeting was denied.

July 21, 1964  
1:15 a.m.

Brooklyn Chapter of CORE had one hundred members walking west on Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. No incidents reported.

July 21, 1964  
Noon

Thirty-five CORE members were picketing in front of City Hall, New York City, and seven additional CORE members were inside City Hall, demanding to see Acting Mayor Paul Screevane, to protest the failure of NYCPD to arrest or suspend Lieutenant [redacted] who shot the Powell youth.

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NY 100-153735

July 21, 1964  
2:30 p.m.

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Fifteen CORE pickets demonstrating at City Hall, New York City, with 25-30 other CORE members in the area, but not picketing.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

July 21, 1964  
3:20 p.m.

[redacted] CORE,  
appeared at City Hall,  
New York City, to congratulate the CORE  
MEMBERS picketing there.

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[redacted] thereafter

left for Harlem, New York City, to get additional pickets for the City Hall demonstration.

July 21, 1964  
5:00 p.m.

[redacted] of Manhattan CORE was arrested for disorderly conduct and intrusion on real property in connection with picketing at City

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Hall, New York City.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

July 22, 1964

[redacted] of National Core, New York City, made statement that CORE would conduct demonstration between 8:00 p.m. and 11:00 p.m., July 22, 1964, in front of residence of Police Commissioner Michael Murphy, Middle Village, Queens, New York, for establishment of a Civilian Review Board, the immediate arrest of Lieutenant [redacted]

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[redacted] CORE  
July 22, 1964

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NY 100-153735

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July 22, 1964  
6:10 p.m.

to discontinue plans for picketing the Commissioner's residence.

Three unnamed racial groups requested CORE to refrain from picketing Police Commissioner Murphy's residence. CORE agreed

July 22, 1964  
9:50 p.m.

Police Commissioner Murphy.

NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

Picketing by CORE at Police Headquarters, 240 Centre Street, New York City, carrying signs demanding resignation of

July 23, 1964

July 23, 1964, protesting police brutality.

NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

[redacted] CORE, New York City, advised that CORE would sponsor picketing at Police Headquarters, New York City, from 8:00 p.m., to 11:00 p.m.,

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July 23, 1964  
2:30 p.m.

Thirteen pickets were demonstrating at City Hall, New York City, of whom ten were CORE members.

NYCPD  
July 23, 1964

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NY 100-153735

July 23, 1964

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[redacted] CORE,  
furnished the following  
information concerning  
the Harlem rioting:

He felt that the initial part of the rioting in Harlem, New York City, on July 18, 19, 1964, was spontaneous; but beginning with Monday, July 20, 1964, he felt it had taken on an aspect of being organized by some group or groups. [redacted] stated that as far as he was concerned the group mainly responsible for the rioting in Harlem and in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, since Monday, July 20, 1964, was the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM). [redacted] stated he based this belief on the publication of inflammatory pamphlets by PLM, which merely served to "keep the pot boiling".

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With regard to the use of walkie-talkies, [redacted] stated he had read of this in the newspapers, but had no first-hand knowledge of their use. He stated that he had just learned that an individual, wearing a CORE helmet and badge, and carrying a first-aid kit was observed at the scene of a disturbance in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area on the evening of July 22, 1964, with a walkie-talkie. He stated that apparently this individual was a member of CORE, because of what he wore, but [redacted] stated he did not know who owned the walkie-talkie. [redacted] said that CORE owns a number of walkie-talkies, which were last used, to his knowledge, at the CORE demonstration on the opening day of the New York World's Fair, New York City, and as far as he knows, all such devices are in the CORE office. [redacted] reiterated that CORE had not employed strife in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

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[redacted] CORE  
July 23, 1964

- 380 -

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NY 100-153735

July 23, 1964  
6:30 p.m.

CORE had fifteen pickets at City Hall, New York City. By 7:10 p.m. the number of pickets had increased to twenty. They moved to Police

Headquarters, New York City, and commenced picketing at that location. This picketing terminated at 11:15 p.m.

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NYCBD  
July 23, 1964

July 24, 1964

[redacted] of National CORE, advised that CORE would picket NYPD headquarters from 8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., on July 24, 1964, and from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., on July 25, 1964. [redacted] stated that newspaper and radio reports, which indicated that the Downtown Chapter of CORE would call upon militant Negroes to provide protection for pickets at NYPD headquarters, were absolute lies.

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[redacted] CORE  
July 24, 1964

July 24, 1964  
7:10 p.m.

Seventy CORE pickets formed at City Hall, New York City, and then proceeded to Police Headquarters, New York City, where they commenced picketing. A peak number of 175 pickets participated in the demonstration at Police Headquarters, which terminated at 11:00 p.m.

NYCPD  
July 24, 1964

- 381 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

July 25, 1964  
4:10 p.m.

~~SECRET~~

Fifty CORE pickets demonstrated at City Hall, New York City.

including [redacted]  
and [redacted] of

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CORE. As of 4:30 p.m.

there were approximately seventy CORE pickets at City Hall, and led by [redacted] they proceeded to Police Headquarters, New York City.

July 25, 1964  
5:45 p.m.

One hundred CORE pickets were at Police Headquarters Picketing at this location terminated at 8:00 p.m.

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

The Bureau of Special Services, NYCPD, on July 25, 1964, gave the following resume of statements by [redacted] Bronx CORE, who was scheduled to be seen and heard on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) television on Sunday, July 26, 1964, on the [redacted] special "Harlem" from 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. [redacted] appearance had been pre-taped.

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[redacted] stated that the blame for the Harlem riots must be placed on the shoulders of Mayor Robert F. Wagner and Police Commissioner Murphy. He claimed the Harlem situation developed because city officials would not listen to New York leaders, sit-ins at Police offices were ignored, and the Powell shooting was the spark which ignited the rioting.

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NY 100-153735

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[redacted] stated that there is a dual system of justice, depending on a man's color.

[redacted] stated that if "you are black, you get bad schools, unemployment and police brutality". [redacted]

demanded the establishment of a civilian complaint board, the dismissal of Commissioner Murphy, and demanded that Mayor Wagner issue orders for the NYPD to cease and desist from "brutality". [redacted]

concluded by stating that the current problem could be resolved if the Negro receives all of his demands, and in addition the suspension and trial of Lieutenant [redacted]

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NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

East Side Tenants Council

The East Side Council is located at 23 Second Avenue, New York City, New York; and, has as its purpose the helping of tenants in the area with their housing problems.

NY T-33  
July 2, 1964

(U)

Activity in Connection with Demonstrations

On July 22, 1964, the chairman of the East Side Tenants Council was requested to contact the membership of this organization, and other groups, to take part in a demonstration to protest police brutality and the way the police are handling the racial situations in New York City. The demonstration was scheduled for July 23, 1964 in front of the Ninth Precinct, NYPD, from 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.

NY T-33  
July 22, 1964

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NY 100-153735

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On July 23, 1964, between 6:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m., a demonstration to protest police brutality took place in front of the Ninth Precinct, NYPD, on East Fifth Street, New York City. Approximately twenty individuals took part, and the demonstration was orderly. Among those taking part in this demonstration were [redacted]

[redacted] of the East Side Tenants Council and Ed Smith, Chairman of the Inspection and Organizing Committee of the East Side Tenants. ✗

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(U)

[NY T-32  
July 24, 1964] ✗ (U)

Regarding the recent racial demonstrations in the New York City area, the East Side Tenants Council did not participate as an organization although some individual members may have. ✗ (U)

[NY T-33  
July 30, 1964] ✗ (U)

Harlem Community Council on Housing  
also known as Community Council on Housing

Location

The 1964-1965 New York City Telephone Directory (Manhattan) and the June, 1964 New York City Address-Telephone Directory (Manhattan) both contain listings for the Community Council on Housing (CCH), 6 East 117th Street, telephone FI 8-9100; however, there is no listing for the Harlem Community Council on Housing (HCCN).

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NY 100-153735

Leadership

~~SECRET~~

The "New York Times", December 31, 1963, page 32, in an article captioned "Harlem Slum Fighter - Jesse Gray" reports that Gray, head of CCH, stated that he is the only paid member of the organization and draws \$75.00 per week. Gray further stated that the CCH has about 2,000 members, but only 400 are able to pay the monthly dues of \$1.00.

This article also reports that Gray has as his goals the organizing of every slum tenant in Harlem; the calling of rent-strikes whenever intolerable violations of the housing laws are ignored by landlords; forcing the City of New York to take over tenements under the Receivership Law; and, to have the Federal Government start a massive drive to eliminate slums as an eventual solution to the housing problem.

On July 26, 1964, Jesse Gray was observed passing out handbills at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. These handbills listed Jesse Gray as the Director of the CCH.

[NYCPD  
July 26, 1964]

(U)

Activities in Connection with  
Racial Demonstrations

The "New York Times", July 20, 1964, page 16, column 6, contains an article "Guerrilla War Urged in Harlem" in which it is stated that Jesse Gray, "the leader of the Harlem Rent Strike" called for "100 skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die" to correct what he termed "the police brutality situation in Harlem". The meeting was held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, 122nd Street and Mount Morris Avenue, New York City, on July 19, 1964. The article states that Gray was the leader of this rally which had an audience of 500, about half of them black nationalists.

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NY 100-153735

The New York "Daily News", July 20, 1964, page 18, identified William Patterson and Robert Thompson "top State CP officials" as being in the audience at the meeting of the above mentioned church which was "spark plugged" by Jesse Gray.

The "New York Times", July 30, 1964, page 12, in an article captioned "Gray Denies Role in Inciting Riots", reports that Jesse Gray testified at a hearing in Supreme Court, New York City, on July 29, 1964, that after the July 19, 1964 church rally in which he called for "100 men ready to die for freedom" he went home, and spent most of the second night of the Harlem rioting "trying to finish a document on European history".

The "New York Times", July 21, 1964, page 22, column 6, in an article describing racial violence in New York City on July 20, 1964, stated that a rally called by Jesse Gray, "rent strike leader", on July 20, 1964, in front of the United Nations, New York, was attended by approximately 250 persons. The purpose of the rally was to protest police brutality.

Jesse Gray was one of the speakers at a demonstration in front of the United Nations, New York City, on July 20, 1964.

NY T-129  
July 22, 1964

(U)

One of the handbills, mentioned above, distributed by Jesse Gray on July 26, 1964, was captioned "Tenants News", with letterhead of Community Council on Housing, 6 East 117th Street, Jesse Gray, Director, addressed to "The People of Harlem, From: Jesse Gray". It set forth the following: The District

NY 108-153735

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Attorney of New York City has served an injunction "to shut our mouths", and the commissioner of the New York City Police Department has said "we cannot protest" and has lined the streets of Harlem with "his Storm Troopers in an attempt to keep us off the streets; that "those in power hate us, because slumlords hate our guts" and this "makes us the enemy of every slumlord, real estate interest as well as those in high places"; the Police Department is "corrupt and graft ridden" and is filled with "sadistic brutal savages"; and, that the attempt to silence the Community Council on Housing is in violation of the constitution and "Harlem must protest this and any attempt now or later to silence its voice". The reader, in conclusion, is requested, to fill the court room "in a show of solidarity" on July 27, 1964, 9:30 p.m. at the New York County Court House, New York City.

NYCPD  
July 26, 1964

The demonstration called for by Jesse Gray in the above handbill did not take place.

NYCPD  
July 27, 1964

A hearing was held on July 27, 1964, in New York County Supreme Court, New York City, on a "show cause order" why the injunction should not remain in effect restraining the Community Council on Housing and others, from continuing further demonstrations in the Harlem area of New York City.

NYCPD  
July 27, 1964

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NY 100-153735

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The "New York Times", July 30, 1964, page 12, in an article captioned "Gray Denies Role In Inciting Riots", reports that a stay against demonstrations in Harlem by Jesse Gray and his Community Council on Housing was continued yesterday in Supreme Court, "despite denials by the Harlem rent strike leader that he had instigated any of the recent disorders". The article notes that Gray, during yesterday's court hearing, denied that his call for "100 men ready to die" was aimed at guerrilla warfare in Harlem or elsewhere here. Gray insisted that he was simply seeking a "trained community organization for better schools, housing and jobs and against police brutality."

The current racial violence in the Harlem and Brooklyn areas of New York City have definite organization backing. The prime organization at this time appears to be the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), since it has taken an active roll in creating violent atmosphere in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant areas. Regarding Jesse Gray, there is no evidence that he is a member of PLM, however, he has utilized the PLM OFFICE IN Harlem as his current base of operation.

NYCPD  
July 23, 1964

Harlem Solidarity Committee

Organization and Participants

A new organization known as the Harlem Solidarity Committee was to meet at 8:00 p.m., July 23, 1964, at the Central Plaza Annex, New York, New York. [redacted] was to be one of the speakers at this meeting. ~~✓~~

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NY T-130

July 23, 1964

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NY 100-153735

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Approximately 20 persons met on the evening of July 23, 1964, in Room 1C, Central Plaza Annex, 40 East Seventh Street, New York, New York. The meeting began at 8:30 p.m., and concluded at 11:00 p.m. Groups represented included the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Workers World Party. (U)

The purpose and main theme of the meeting was "solidarity" as it related to the Negro working class and the white working class. It was pointed out that the labor unions have not participated in the present Civil Rights fight, for they have not recognized any intergrated working class. Further demonstrations in this field must utilize both whites and Negroes in an intergrated protest. In this regard, it was planned that a protest march and demonstration should take place in that part of New York City referred to as the garment district. Some discussion was held regarding the printing of leaflets for distribution before and during the protest demonstration. The main theme was that it must be a united march of Negro and white people and that Puerto Ricans should also be included. It was intended to be a non-violent demonstration. Probable groups which could be invited to participate are peace organizations. One individual stated that he did not object to the plans made but he added that he personally preferred not to turn the other cheek at that moment. (U)

Considerable discussion was held concerning the name to be given the organizing force. It was agreed that in some manner it should include the words, "Solidarity Committee". (U)

NY 100-153735

Dissatisfaction was expressed with white workers who ignore the suffering of the Negro workers. It was felt that the present time would be the best time to carry out a demonstration in the midst of a large number of such workers, specifically in the garment district. Throughout the meeting it was noted that little discussion was held concerning the details of recent racial outbreaks of violence in the Harlem and Brooklyn areas of New York City. It appeared that the general purpose of the meeting was to take advantage of the current situation in order to promote the idea of integrated solidarity in the ranks of labor. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-131  
July 23, 1964

(U)

Activities During Racial Demonstrations

On July 28, 1964, from 12:10 p.m. to 1:00 p.m., Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed a street rally on 38th Street west of Eighth Avenue, New York, New York, which was publicly advertised as sponsored by the Harlem Solidarity Committee.

[redacted] identifying himself as being with the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), started the rally by stating that the solidarity rally was called to fight police brutality, unemployment and poverty, in Harlem, and to fight for decent working conditions in the garment district.

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[redacted] Conrad Lynn, introduced as the [redacted] of the Freedom Now Party, addressed the rally and protested the arrests of people in Harlem for merely walking on the sidewalk and distribution leaflets. Lynn stated he was one of the persons arrested. He called for support of white workers in helping Negroes attain freedom.

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NY 100-153735

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[redacted] introduced as a representative of the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), addressed the rally and he described the recent racial incidents in Harlem and Brooklyn as a genuine rebellion and not a riot. He said the rebellion grew out of slum conditions, police brutality, and oppression of the Negro police.

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b7C

[redacted] introduced as a representative of "Spartacist", accused the police of denying the right of free speech to individuals who organized this rally since the police denied them the use of loudspeaker equipment. He stated that the "facist police" deny the right to demonstrate in Harlem and next they will be denying the rights of all citizens.

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b7C

[redacted] who was introduced as a representative of the Workers World Party, demanded the removal of all police from Harlem and the right of Negro areas to police themselves. He demanded the arrest and prosecution of Lieutenant [redacted]  
[redacted] New York City Police Department.

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b7C

[redacted] closed the rally by calling for the following:

1. The immediate removal of New York Police Commissioner Murphy.
2. The arrest and prosecution of Lieutenant [redacted]
3. The opening of grand jury hearings to the public.
4. The removal of the injunctions banning demonstration in Harlem.
5. The impeachment of Mayor Wagner of New York City.

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NY 100-185735

~~SECRET~~

During the rally several placards were on display bearing such slogans as "Get Fascist Police Out of Harlem", "Stop the Racist Storm Troopers", "Down with Murphy's Occupation Army", and "Get the Kakistocratic Killer Kops Out of Harlem". Most placards bore the notation that they were printed by the YAWF.

The following persons were observed by Special Agents as in attendance and/or participating in the rally:



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- 392 -

~~SECRET~~

NY100-135735

~~SECRET~~  
~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~  
~~HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~  
~~DATE 6/5/01 BY SP5 JBL~~

Muslim Mosque Incorporated

Nature of Organization

The March 13, 1964 edition of the "New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that Malcolm X (Little), former national official of the National of Islam (NOI) and Minister of NOI Mosque #7, New York, who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement Malcolm X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in times of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

On April 17, 1964, Malcolm X appeared over KYW-Television, Cleveland, Ohio, at which time he stated that the MMI does not stand for intergration, but for complete freedom, justice, and equality, for Negroes. He stated that Islam was the religious philosophy of the MMI, while the political, economic and social philosophy was black nationalism.

Location of Headquarters

Headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City, where they were established on March 16, 1964.

NY 100-135735

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Viewpoint on Racial Demonstrations

On July 22, 1964, a meeting of students was held at Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York City, at which the main speaker was a man by the name of [redacted] who was billed as an aide to Malcolm X. Little, President of Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI).

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At this meeting, [redacted] expressed the opinion that, according to the cycle of historical events, cops will be murdered in the streets of Harlem. [redacted] characterized the rioters as "freedom fighters" and stated he himself approved of the rioting and looting. [redacted] also stated that the next step will be a demand that police be withdrawn from Harlem and stated that if they are not withdrawn, they will be killed.

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b7C

[redacted] talked on a general theme of hate, but did not advocate or request those in attendance at the meeting to take action. [redacted] did not at any time state that his group was going to kill police or agitate Negroes to further violence, nor did he make any mention of a violent overthrow of the United States government.

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b7C

NY T-130

July 23, 1964

X (U)

Although the race riot was continuing in Harlem, members of Malcolm's group the MMI stayed out of the rioting area, although one of the members of the MMI roamed around near the rioting as an observer.

NY T-132

July 19, 1964

X (U)

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NY 100-153735

MMI members were instructed to keep away from the Harlem rioting and not to get involved.

[NY T-132  
July 18, 1964] X (U)

On July 24, 1964, a closed meeting sponsored by the Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) was held at the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), 361 West 125th Street, New York City. Representatives of various civic groups in Harlem were present.

The main point to be discussed at this meeting was the displeasure with Police Commissioner Murphy banning the proposed march of the Harlem Defense Council scheduled for July 25, 1964, in the Harlem area. As a result of this meeting it was agreed to send a delegation to see Mayor Wagner the following day to express their views.

[redacted], a member of the MMI, was observed leaving the meeting.

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Detective [redacted]  
Bureau of Special Services, NYPD  
July 24, 1964  
July 28, 1964

The New York "Daily News" issue of July 20, 1964, contained an article captioned "Malcolm X May Return For New York Rally"; this article, datelined at Cairo, July 29, stated in part, "Black nationalist leader Malcolm X said today he may fly back to NY and hold a mass rally, Saturday to urge Negroes to 'fight back against the police with no holds barred' even if it means more bloodshed.

NY 100-153735

"Negroes should stand on their rights even if it costs them their lives. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. That's the only way this thing can be brought to a head".

On July 2, 1964, one [redacted] (last name unknown) from MMI, New York, attended a meeting of the MMI at Philadelphia. [redacted] complained that the MMI in Philadelphia is organizing too slowly and that if MMI in Philadelphia is not able to get members, what they need to do is create some excitement that will cause people to respond to a rally. According to [redacted] blowing up a truck or bridge would create some excitement and only two persons would have to be used. One to act as the lookout and the other to do the job. To blow up a bridge a good swimmer would be needed, who could swim underwater and blow up the bridge at the base. X (U)

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[redacted] compared Philadelphia to Harlem, but he said the people in Harlem are more vicious but that the people in Philadelphia could also be aroused to become vicious. [redacted] then explained how to make a Molotov cocktail. He said that he talked to teenagers in New York City and they are doing the right thing. All they need is leadership and they are ready to do anything at anytime. [redacted] then indicated that the MMI in New York is not involved in the recent current violence in New York City.

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NY T-133  
July 22, 1964 ] X (U)

NY 100-153735

Nation of Islam

Nature of Organization

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Mosque #7 of the Nation of Islam (NOI) is the New York City branch of the NOI which is headed by Elijah Muhammad with headquarters in Chicago, Illinois. It is an all Negro organization which claims it teaches the "Muslim" religion as taught to Elijah Muhammad by Allah. Included in the teachings of the NOI is the view that the white man is the devil and is the cause of all the troubles of the Negro in America. When all Negroes join the NOI then Allah will destroy the White man. The NOI also teaches that the Negro should separate from the white man economically, socially and politically.

[NY T-134  
July 28, 1964] X (U)

Principal Officers

All the major decisions of the NOI are made by Elijah Muhammad who maintains direct and complete control of the NOI nationally through Ministers appointed by him. In New York the [ ] is [ ] [ ] , and the Captain of the fruit of Islam is JOSEPH ZX (Gravitt). Although these two appoint various other persons to assist them, they are the ones principally engaged in running Mosque #7.

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[NY T-134  
July 28, 1964] X (U)

NY 100-153735

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Viewpoint on Demonstrations

Since the shooting of James Powell on July 16, 1964, Mosque #7 issued instructions to all members not to participate in any demonstration in any way. If a member finds himself in a place where a disturbance occurs, he should immediately leave this area. These instructions were repeated at various NOI meetings.

NY T-134  
July 28, 1964] ↗ (U)

All the above information was corroborated on July 30, 1964, by New York T-29 and New York T-30.

The July 23, 1964, issue of the "Chicago Daily Defender", a Chicago, Illinois, daily newspaper, contained an item on page 4 captioned, "'Liars' Blamed Muslims for Harlem Riots! Ali." This item stated in part as follows:

"Anyone who says the Black Muslims instituted New York's racial strife 'not only is a plain liar, but a damned liar' according to the National Secretary of the Black Muslims."

"John Ali said such charges were part of reckless journalism---."

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

The national office of the NAACP is located at 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York. It has 1,762 branches, youth councils and college chapters in 49 states. Membership for the year 1963 was 534,710.

"New York Amsterdam News" issue June 27, 1964, page 12, column 3

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~  
Viewpoint of NAACP concerning  
Demonstrations and Violence

On July 24, 1964, a representative of the Greenwich Village - Chelsea NAACP Branch, 240 West Fourth Street, New York City, requested the use of the East Side Tenants Council's (ESTC) sound equipment for a demonstration by the NAACP branch at Waverly Place and Sixth Avenue, New York City, from 7:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., July 24, 1964. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest police brutality. ~~X~~ (U)

At a later hour on July 24, 1964, the representative of the Greenwich Village - Chelsea NAACP Branch recontacted the ESTC and stated that due to a report that a group of approximately 500 whites were "breaking up" street demonstrations, the NAACP cancelled the above demonstration as "they did not want to cause an incident". ~~X~~ (U)

[ NY T-33  
July 24, 1964 ] ~~X~~ (U)

There has been no information received indicating that the NAACP in New York City sponsored or participated in any demonstrations, subsequent to the shooting of James Powell.

Progressive Labor Movement (PLM)  
and Harlem Defense Council (HDC)

The Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) is an ultra-left Communist Organization which follows the Chinese Communist Line.

[ NY T-137  
March 15, 1964 ] ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The Harlem Defense Council (HDC) is a front organization of the PLM.

[NY T-138  
July 29, 1964] X (U)

Location of Headquarters

PLM

The July 18, 1964 issue of "Challenge", a self-described weekly publication of the PLM, discloses on its masthead that its offices are located at 66 West 109th Street, 227 East Third Street (lower east side office) and 336 Lenox Avenue (Harlem Office) all in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The June, 1964 issue of the publication "Progressive Labor" discloses in its masthead that a Progressive Labor Office is located at 139 Hopkins Street, Brooklyn, New York.

HDC

The HDC occupies the same office space as the PLM office in Harlem, New York City, e.g., 336 Lenox Avenue, and utilizes the same telephone.

[NY T-44  
July 22, 1964] X (U)

- 400 -

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NY 100-153735

Officers

PLM

~~SECRET~~

The March, 1964 issue of "Progressive Labor", page 4, carries an article captioned "PLM Elects New York Leaders". According to the article, "The March 28th Conference of PLM" at New York City, elected the following officers for the forthcoming year: Milton Rosen, Chairman; William Epton, Vice Chairman, Negro Affairs; Genoveva Clements, Vice Chairman, Puerto Rican Affairs; Fred Jerome, Publications Director.

In addition to the above, the article points out that an Organizational Secretary, Educational Director and Financial Director were also elected. A new city committee will be formed, according to the article, including the officers and a delegate from each of the clubs in New York City.

At the New York City PLM conference held on March 28, 1964, in Room 16A, 853 Broadway, New York City, the following, in addition to the above mentioned officers, were elected to positions in the PLM in New York City:

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NY T-139  
March 28, 1964 X (U)

HDC

There are no known officers of the HDC, although [redacted] appears to be the individual responsible for organizing the HDC and directing its activities.

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NY T-44  
July 24, 1964 X (U)

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NY 100-153735

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The July 25, 1964 issue of the "Journal American", a New York City daily newspaper, on page 1, of the Sports Final Edition, indicates that William Epton is the temporary spokesman for the HDC.

Activities in Connection with  
Harlem Demonstrations,  
July 17 - 31, 1964

On July 17, 1964, a picket jointly sponsored by the PLM and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) took place at the Robert F. Wagner, Junior High School, 222 East 76th Street, New York City, to protest the shooting of James Powell.

New York City Police  
Department (NYCPD)  
July 17, 1964

On July 18, 1964, PLM members participated in a demonstration at the 28th Precinct, NYCPD, 123rd Street and Seventh Avenue.

NYCPD  
July 19, 1964

On the afternoon of July 19, 1964, members of the PLM distributed copies of the PLM publication "Challenge" at a rally of approximately 300 persons held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church, Harlem, protesting "police brutality".

NYCPD  
July 19, 1964

On the evening of July 20, 1964, representatives of the PLM participated in a picket demonstration at the United Nations Building, New York City, protesting the shooting of James Powell and alleged police brutality.

NYCPD  
July 20, 1964

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NY 100-153735

Both [redacted] were observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as participants in the above demonstration.

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At a meeting of the PLM held July 21, 1964, at New York City, plans were formulated for the PLM to print leaflets with instructions on how to make a Molotov cocktail bomb. It was also planned that PLM would print a picture of Lieutenant [redacted] [redacted] off duty police officer who shot a Negro youth on July 16, 1964, with the caption, "Wanted - Dead or Alive or Maimed".

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NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

Between 10:15 p.m. and 11:10 p.m., July 21, 1964, approximately 50 persons attended a street meeting in front of the "Intergrated Workers Progressive Labor Movement" office, 227 East Third Street, New York City. The principal speaker was [redacted]

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The announced purpose of the meeting was to protest police brutality. At 11:10 p.m., participants moved inside to continue the meeting. It was decided at this meeting that sometime during the morning or afternoon of July 22, 1964, the participants would assemble at 227 East Third Street and proceed to Manhattan Criminal Court, 100 Centre Street, New York City, to picket and protest the arrest of demonstrators.

NYCPD  
July 22, 1964

Information was received indicating that the PLM had not initially inspired the Harlem situation but rather was acting to keep the demonstrations continuing by agitation and propaganda.

NYCPD  
July 21, 1964

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NY 100-153735

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Information was received on July 23, 1964, indicating that William Epton, for the previous three weeks, had organized several groups in the Harlem area to handle whatever situation might arise, such as the current racial strife, in whatever way possible and with whatever weapons were at hand. It was reported that these groups are offshoots of the PLM. ~~(U)~~

[ NY T-35 ]

[ July 23, 1964 ]

~~(U)~~

The Tri-Line Offset Company, Incorporated, 461 West Broadway, New York City, the print shop of the PLM, was, as of July 23, 1964, printing 10,000 copies of a poster containing a photograph of Lieutenant [REDACTED] and setting forth the words, "Wanted for Murder". Identical posters were printed by Tri-Line, July 20, 1964. In addition, Tri-Line was also printing 10,000 copies of a flyer announcing a mass demonstration scheduled for 4:00 p.m., July 25, 1964, at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. The posters and flyers were being sent to the Harlem area. ~~(U)~~

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[ NY T-37 ]

[ July 23, 1964 ]

~~(U)~~

~~(U)~~

A flyer was made available on July 22, 1964, indicating the sponsor to be the HDC, 336 Lenox Avenue, phone FI 8-2254. The flyer requests all persons to join a mass demonstration to be held at 4:00 p.m., July 25, 1964, at 116th Street, Lenox Avenue, New York City.

The flyer sets forth, "The black people of Harlem have historically been terrorized by the Police Department of New York. They have been brutally maimed

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

and murdered by these police. We, the people of Harlem, in order to partially alleviate these conditions demand:". The poster thereafter sets forth ten demands, among which is the immediate arrest and prosecution of Lieutenant [redacted] for first degree murder. It also sets forth the demand that public Grand Juries investigate police brutality against Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City. One of the demands includes the statement that it is "our constitutional right to defend ourselves by any means necessary". It is noted the address of the HDC, 336 Lenox Avenue and phone number of the flyer are the same as the Harlem Progressive Labor Club.

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[redacted]  
July 22, 1964

[redacted] on July 20, 1964, reportedly stated that the PLM had nothing to do with the riots that took place over the weekend. [redacted] said he went outside the PLM club during the riots and when shooting started, he went back inside. Once inside, [redacted] noted that a bullet came through the window of the office. [redacted] stated "They" are starting a group to see the Mayor regarding the killing of the Powell boy and "they" will need some help concerning this. [redacted] probably referred to the HDC as "they". ~~(S)~~ (U)

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NY T-44  
July 23, 1964 ] ~~(S)~~ (U)

Information was furnished indicating that PLM as of July 23, 1964, was the prime organization in the demonstrations in Harlem.

NYCPD  
July 23, 1964

- 405 -

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NY 100-153735

PLM, as of July 23, 1964, was mainly responsible for rioting in Harlem and the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

[redacted] CORE,  
New York City  
July 23, 1964

[redacted] of the Progressive Labor weekly newspaper, "Challenge", reportedly stated on July 23, 1964, that the July 23, 1964 issue of "Challenge" would include four pages of photographs of the Harlem riots and would call for the arrest of New York City Police officers. [redacted] was also reported to have stated that Tri-Line did not print flyers concerning the making of Molotov cocktails. [redacted] indicated he had no idea who had issued or published these flyers. ~~(S)~~

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NY T-37  
July 23, 1964

(U)

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A club meeting was held in Harlem for the alleged purpose of organizing groups block by block to fight crime without police assistance. Two subsequent meetings held for the same purpose were attended by [redacted] who had reportedly stated it was the group's idea to fight the police because of police brutality against Negroes. [redacted] reportedly stated he had already organized the youth movement on 127th Street and 128th Street and whenever police were about to make an arrest, on a given signal, all Negroes would surround the officers and prevent any action on their part. [redacted] reportedly stated that "when the time comes, arms will be available."

[redacted]  
July 23, 1964

NY 100-153735

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A flyer captioned "Stop the Cops" was reportedly distributed by the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement, 336 Lenox Avenue, New York, announcing a street rally at 114th and 115th Streets and Lenox Avenue, from 3:00 to 6:00 p.m., July 18, 1964. Among some of the speakers scheduled to be present was [redacted] of the Harlem Progressive Labor Movement.

The flyer, mentioned above, contained the statement that "Lieutenant [redacted] (remember the name) shot James once and James fell to the ground. This fascist cop stood over him and fired two more bullets into him. He then kicked the dead boy. This is the way the fascist and racist cops operate here in 'liberal' New York. These murderers follow the orders of Commissioner Murphy, Mayor Wagner and Rockefeller. We don't have to go to Mississippi because Mississippi is here in New York."

"The murders and beatings of our people is all part of the plot to intimidate our people and stop our militancy. Well, we are going to tell them right now that we are not intimidated, and the more they kill us and beat us, the more we will organize to fight back."

[redacted]  
July 18, 1964

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b7C

- 407 -

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NY 100-153735

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Twenty persons, believed to be an adjunct of the PLM, held a meeting in Room 1C, Central Plaza Annex, 40 East Seventh Street, New York City, at 8:00 p.m., July 23, 1964. At the meeting it was pointed out that further civil rights demonstrations must include both white and Negro participants. It was indicated that a protest meeting and demonstration would be scheduled for Monday, July 27, 1964, in the New York Garment District.

NY T-131  
July 24, 1964

(U)

[redacted] publicly admitted in a taped interview that he, himself, is a Communist and his organization is Communist controlled. [redacted] was quoted, "It is no crime to be a Communist. They can't put us in jail because of our political beliefs".

The July 25, 1964 issue of "Challenge", page 3, contained an advertisement for a demonstration scheduled for July 25, 1964, in Harlem and indicated it was a "demonstration to protest police terror in Harlem. Come to the people's trial of [redacted] the Cop".

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[redacted] a PLM member, contacted Isidore Gibby Needleman, an attorney who has been associated with the defense of Communist individuals and organizations in the past, to advise him there would be a march under the auspices of the HDC, on July 25, 1964. [redacted] indicated this would be a large march and he expected trouble. He said he would like to have a group of lawyers on call between 3:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m., July 25, 1964. Needleman said he had a commitment on July 25, 1964, and suggested [redacted] contact attorneys [redacted] Abe Unger, [redacted] [redacted] all of whom have been identified with the legal defense of CP organizations and/or members in the past.

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NY T-140  
July 24, 1964

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NY 100-153735

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On July 24, 1964, [redacted] was advised that Commissioner Murphy of the NYCPD had banned all demonstrations on police headquarters in Harlem.

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[redacted] indicated no plans were made to march on the 32nd Precinct or any police headquarters, but permission was requested by [redacted] to demonstrate at 145th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, or for the police to designate a location for their demonstrations.

[redacted] felt that Commissioner Murphy was violating their constitutional right to peaceful demonstrations.

[redacted] contacted [redacted] from Norfolk, Virginia, now in New York City. [redacted] requested [redacted] to obtain details of the arrest and said he, [redacted] would contact the Lawyers Guild and bail would be obtained. [redacted] indicated to [redacted] that a lieutenant informed him [redacted] about the banned demonstration and indicated that Conrad (Lynn) will arrive in New York City, July 24, 1964, and will march in front of the demonstrators. [redacted] was concerned if the demonstration should continue after the first group is arrested. [redacted] indicated that the HDC would assemble to demonstrate at 4:00 p.m., July 25, 1964. He further indicated they will meet at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue and march to 139th Street and Lenox Avenue where they will hold a mock trial of Lieutenant [redacted] using an experienced attorney to act as prosecuting attorney and defense attorney, with the public as a jury. [redacted] identified himself as the temporary spokesman of the HDC and added there is no head of the council because it is only seven weeks old and is made up of captains from block communities. [redacted] indicated to [redacted] that no attorney had been obtained as yet to act in the mock trial but [redacted] or Conrad (Lynn) may be asked to act. [redacted] indicated a leaflet would be put out the night of July 24, 1964.

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NY T-141  
July 24, 1964

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- 409 -

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NY 100-153735

On July 24, 1964, at PLM headquarters, [redacted] spoke about a rally scheduled for July 25, 1964. [redacted] stated he wanted a peaceful rally and said he was scheduled to speak at the rally and as of July 24, 1964, he was the only definite speaker and HDC was the only definite organization planning to attend. Regarding the beginning of the rioting on July 19, 1964. [redacted] stated the PLM did not start the rioting but everything was spontaneous and none of the riots or disorders were planned by anyone. ~~(U)~~

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NY T-44  
July 24, 1964] ~~(U)~~

On July 24, 1964, [redacted] contacted [redacted] and indicated she heard about "this thing" over the radio and stated she wanted him to know "we'll be around" and indicated their desire to help. ~~(U)~~

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[redacted] commented that they expected people to be arrested and he has some lawyers lined up. [redacted] said "Conrad" (Lynn) and [redacted] are both taking part in this. [redacted] mentioned he was trying (U) to raise money for bail purposes. ~~(U)~~

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[redacted] indicated it is important that if some people were arrested we should get them out of jail as soon as possible in order that they make public statements. ~~(U)~~

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NY T-142  
July 24, 1964] ~~(U)~~

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NY 100-153735

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[redacted] was in contact with [redacted] Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) representative and said he does not expect to reach 139th Street (termination point of the July 25, 1964 rally) without being arrested.

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[redacted] said there is more unity in the people in the streets than ever before. [redacted] while discussing Police Commissioner Murphy's ban on the HDC rally stated "We actually do not want them to rescind that thing".

On July 25, 1964, in an interview by [redacted] of the American Broadcasting Company (ABC), [redacted] stated if people are left alone by police at demonstrations there would be no violence and he, [redacted] would take steps to avoid violence. In response to a question by [redacted] with respect to [redacted] being an avowed Communist, [redacted] replied that he was.

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[redacted] asked if the demonstration had anything to do with the Communist movement. [redacted] replied the demonstration was called by HDC, which he said is an independent organization and not part of PLM.

[redacted] admitted that HDC is in the same office as PLM, but this was a temporary measure.

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[redacted] asked if [redacted] effort in this demonstration, as well as efforts in Harlem, were tied in anyway to CP, USA. [redacted] replied his personal efforts and those of PLM do not represent the American CP position. [redacted] remarked that "we" feel that the American CP is only an adjunct of the Democratic Administration and that there is a need for an independent Communist position in the United States. He stated that PLM is strictly national in origin and does not look toward Moscow. He said PLM has over

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NY 100-153735

1,000 members nationally and that not all are Negro.  
[redacted] commented he is [redacted] of the Harlem Branch  
of PLM, which has no connections with CP. USA.  
He said his efforts in Harlem although not connected  
with CP, USA, are based on his Communist philosophy.

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NY T-141  
July 25, 1964

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On July 25, 1964, representatives of the  
PLM, at a rally at 73rd Street and Amsterdam Avenue,  
sponsored by the Harlem Parents Committee, the New  
York Du Bois Clubs and several other organizations,  
sold the July 25, 1964, issue of "Challenge" and passed  
out a press release announcing a garment center rally  
scheduled for July 28, 1964.

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy  
banned a Harlem protest march scheduled for  
July 25, 1964. by the HDC.

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

On July 26, 1964, representatives of PLM  
were in the process of printing 3,000 posters for the  
Harlem Mother's Committee at the Tri-Line Offset Company,  
461 Broadway, New York City. The posters set  
forth "Wanted for Murder, Lieutenant [redacted].  
[redacted] photograph was included in the poster.

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NY T-37  
July 26, 1964

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(U)

On July 22, 1964, [redacted] commented  
that the PLM is actively participating in the  
Harlem riots.

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NY T-138  
July 22, 1964

(U)

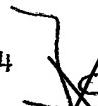
NY 100-153735

In an interview with [redacted] of Radio Station WURL, [redacted] identified himself as a [redacted] of the HDC. [redacted] advised a rally had been called for July 25, 1964, at 4:00 p.m., at the corner of 116th Street and Lenox Avenue to protest police terror, and other grievances. He said the rally was to be peaceful and an exercise of a constitutional right to assemble. He hoped the people of Harlem would show their indignation at the murder of James Powell and at general terror of the police against "our community". [redacted] said no violence would be created by them and if violence arises it would be from police. He said a number of people qualified in controlling crowds would be there. He stated the Negro community and the Negro leaders wanted [redacted] arrested, or at least suspended, and that Grand Jury action is not satisfactory.

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NY T-141  
July 24, 1964  (U)

[redacted] on July 24, 1964, was advised by [redacted] of the demonstration ban concerning the July 25, 1964 march. [redacted] said the demonstration would continue despite the ban. [redacted] expressed concern over the question as to whether the demonstration should be conducted after the first group was arrested. [redacted] told [redacted] not to "push it" and not to get people killed. [redacted] said someone should stay out of trouble on July 25, 1964, so that they could call him.

NY T-141  
July 24, 1964  (U)

NY 100-153735

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The HDC rally scheduled to begin at 4:00 p.m., July 25, 1964, actually started at 4:20 p.m. at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue. At 4:25 p.m., [redacted] and Conrad Lynn were arrested by the 28th Precinct, NYCPD, and charged with disorderly conduct. [redacted] and Lynn were taken to the 26th Precinct and shortly thereafter transferred to the 24th Precinct for security reasons. As of 6:30 p.m., there were no demonstrations or disorders reported at the 24th Precinct as a result of these arrests. At 6:05 p.m., [redacted] and Lynn were taken to night court. Lynn was released on his own recognizance and [redacted] was released on bail of \$500.00 on each of two counts of disorderly conduct and unlawful assembly.

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In connection with the street rally at 116th Street and Lenox Avenue, approximately 35 to 50 individuals dispersed peacefully and without further incidents following the arrest of [redacted] and Lynn.

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

An injunction restraining the PLM and HDC and others from demonstrations in Harlem and from activities likely to induce civil rebellion and the overthrow of lawful government was obtained by the NYCPD and served the same day on, among others, [redacted]

[redacted] requiring their appearance in New York State Supreme Court, New York County on July 27, 1964, to show cause why it would not be made permanent.

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Injunction orders were also placed on the doors of PLM, 336-38 Lenox Avenue and the Tri-Line Offset Company, 461 West Broadway, both in New York City.

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

NY 100-153735

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Details of the above proceedings are set out in Section VIII.

In Signed statement appearing in the PLM weekly publication "Challenge", on July 30, 1964, [redacted] declares he is violating the State Supreme Court's "two bit restraining order".

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"There is no lawful government in this country today", he writes. "Only a revolution will establish one. If that is 'civil rebellion' let us make the most of it." [redacted] calls for "public demonstrations in the street of Harlem", until Police Commissioner Murphy is dismissed. "And when Murphy's uniformed goons attack the crowd with gas and guns, let us not run and let us not pray -let us fight back".

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"This is not a proposal for wild and reckless riots in which the killer-cops will be able to massacre the people," he writes. "No. It will take organization-through such groups as the Harlem Defense Council".

Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist - Leninist Communist Party (POC)

Nature of Organization

The POC, comprised mostly of Puerto Ricans and Negroes, split from the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) in 1958. It was then known as an ultra-left caucus within the CP, USA, which felt that the CP, USA was not revolutionary enough. Its basic aim is to supplant the CP, USA and become the real Marxist-Leninist CP in the United States. Its total national membership amounts to no more than ninety to one hundred members, approximately fifty of whom are in the New York City area. The POC line is the same as that of the CP of China in that it rejects peaceful coexistence and projects the eventual violent overthrow of the capitalist governments of the world, especially that of the United States. ~~(U)~~

NY T-143

July 22, 1964

NY T-144

July 27, 28, 1964

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Headquarters

The POC has no headquarters, national or local, although New York City is considered to be the "National Office" of the POC, since New York is the location of the leading functionary of the POC, its principal officers, and the bulk of its membership.

[NY T-143  
July 22, 1964] X (U)

Viewpoint on Racial Demonstrations

The Los Angeles Cell of the POC, which was organized in about January, 1964, and which is a local branch of the National POC, met on July 22, 1964, at 9624 Juniper Street, Los Angeles. At this meeting it was mentioned that, although the POC was not actively participating in the current Harlem riots in New York City, the New York POC will exploit the situation in any way that it can. However, if the (U) riots reach "Spanish Harlem", the New York POC would actively participate in the riots. X

[NY T-145  
July 23, 1964] X (U)

At a West Coast conference held by the POC in San Francisco, California, on June 27, 28, 1964, exception was taken by [redacted]

[redacted], to views of the Los Angeles POC representatives regarding the revolutionary fervor of the Negro people, and she stated that the POC job is to harness this fervor and raise it to a higher level. X

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[NY T-144  
June 27, 28, 1964] X (U)

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NY100-153735

Up to, and including July 19, 1964, the POC had said or done nothing regarding demonstrations or rioting in the New York area. An the contrary, the POC is in complete opposition to Negro civil Rights leaders. No leaflets or meetings have been planned by the POC in connection with current racial disturbances in Harlem or Brooklyn.

NY T-143  
July 22, 1964

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[redacted] On July 27, 1964, [redacted] of the POC, indicated that the POC was not involved in the present racial disturbances at New York, and expressed contempt for those individuals who are taking credit for them.

NY T-143  
July 28, 1964

(U)

As of July 27, 1964, the POC at New York has not participated in any manner in the current racial disturbances or demonstrations, nor has it made any plans to do so in the future. There is no indication that the POC is in sympathy with the aims or activities of any of the other groups or individuals so involved.

NY T-146  
July 27, 1964

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#### Socialist Workers Party (SWP)

##### Nature of Organization

The SWP, founded in 1938, is a militantly revolutionary Marxist party based on the theories of

NY 100-153735

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Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky rather than Joseph Stalin. The SWP has unequivocally stated that its main task is the overthrow of "American, capitalism". The SWP is primarily engaged in the recruitment of "class conscious militants, the explanation of the advantages of socialism over capitalism, and the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda through its press, public functions and participation in election campaigns."

[NY T-147]  
July 29, 1964] X (U)

SWP Founding Convention  
Declaration of Principles  
January, 1938

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The National and New York Local headquarters are located at 116 University Place, New York City. The SWP membership totals approximately 530 in 19 branches throughout the United States.

[NY T-148]  
July 10, 1964] X (U)

Activities in Connection With  
Racial Demonstrations

On July 23, 1964, a meeting of approximately 20 persons was held in Room 1-C, Central Plaza Annex, 40 East Seventh Street, New York City. This meeting included a representative of the SWP and resulted

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in the formation of the Harlem Solidarity Committee. This SWP representative took an active part in the discussion of the future activities of this committee.

Bureau of Special Services,  
New York City Police  
Department (NYCPD)  
July 23, 1964

On July 30, 1964, it was announced at a closed membership meeting of the SWP - New York Local that [redacted] an SWP member, had attended a meeting of the Harlem Solidarity Committee as a representative of the SWP. ~~X~~

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[NY T-147]  
July 31, 1964]

~~X~~ (U)

On July 31, 1964, the SWP, through its Militant Labor Forum, sponsored a Rally to Protest Police Terrorism in Harlem at SWP headquarters in New York City. This rally featured four Negro speakers representing Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity, the Freedom Now Party, the Harlem Defense Council, the Harlem Community Council on Housing and the SWP. This rally passed resolutions concerning the establishment of autonomous control in Harlem and an agreement that future defensive tactics and plans of the Negro community should not be made public. It was also voted at this rally to send a letter to Mayor Wagner of New York City on August 1, 1964, urging the removal of police from Harlem, the resignation of the New York City Police Commissioner, the establishment of a Civilian Review Committee in Harlem and the banning of the current moratorium on racial demonstrations.

[NY T-149]  
August 1, 1964]

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The SWP as a Party has decided not to enter actively into the current racial demonstrations and strife occurring in New York City. The Party has assumed the role as an observer of this activity and has characterized the efforts of Progressive Labor in this strife as "adventuristic". The SWP is supporting the racial demonstrations in its current street meetings in regard to the forthcoming election and in its newspaper, however, is letting Progressive Labor carry the ball and take the risks involved in such activity. The SWP is putting all its future hopes in regard to activity in the racial field on Malcolm X and his organization with whom it expects to collaborate in the near future.

NY T-147  
July 31, 1964

X (U)

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Location

The Manhattan Telephone Directory for 1964 - 1965, reflects that the New York Office of the SNCC is located at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

Nature of the Organization

The SNCC was formed in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960, by college students who had been participating in various sit-down demonstrations. At a meeting sponsored by SNCC which was to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on October 14 through 16, 1960, the formal activities of the session were to center around the topic "Non-violence and the Achievement of Desegregation.".

"The Atlanta Constitution"  
October 6, 1960

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Racial Demonstrations

On July 23, 1964, there were 13 pickets demonstrating at City Hall, New York City. Among these demonstrators were three from SNCC who carried signs indicating that they were fasting until a civilian review board was established, and also until the tactical police force was removed from the Harlem area.

NYCPD  
July 23, 1964

On July 24, 1964, four members of SNCC established a picket line at City Hall, New York City, protesting police brutality.

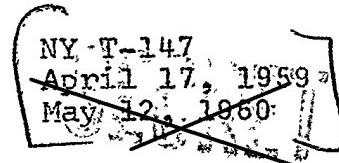
NYCPD  
July 24, 1964

Workers World Party (WWP)

Nature of Organization

A Socialist Workers Party (SWP) minority group under the leadership of National Committee member, [redacted] also known as [redacted] split from the SWP in February, 1959, after many years of program and policy differences on varied issues concerning tactics and interpretation of political events. This minority group accused the SWP of liquidating itself by departing from the Marxist precepts of Leon Trotsky and retreating from the fight for the world socialist revolution. This minority group hoped to build a revolutionary party with a complete proletarian orientation for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism in the United States and throughout the world. This group took the name, Workers World Party. The National and New York City Headquarters of the WWP are located at 46 West 21st Street, New York, New York. During recent months the WWP has supported the People's Republic of China in its ideological dispute with the Soviet Union.

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Officers

Principal officers of the WWP are [redacted]  
[redacted], WWP [redacted] [redacted], WWP  
National Committee member, and [redacted]  
WWP National Committee member and [redacted] WWP  
newspaper, "Workers World". Until 1959, all were  
influential members of the SWP. X (U)

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[NY T-150  
September 2, 1963] X (U)

(U) & Activities

The WWP operates a youth group known as  
the Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) which  
utilizes a room at WWP Headquarters for its  
administrative activities. Leaders of the YAWF are  
WWP members. X (U)

[NY T-150  
May 4, 1964] X (U)

Activities During Racial  
Demonstrations

At a New York Branch WWP meeting at 46 West  
21st Street, New York, New York, it was stated that a  
leaflet captioned "Who Killed James Powell?" had been  
printed up for distribution at various locations  
throughout New York City. This leaflet reflects it  
was prepared by the YAWF, Box 317, Old Chelsea  
Station, New York 11, New York, and is set forth  
verbatim as follows: X (U)

"Who Killed James Powell?

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"James Powell - 15 year old!! - a ninth grade student - is dead: His life was cut short by a policeman's bullet. He is dead - while the racist who insulted him and the trigger-happy cop who shot him are set free. James Powell was killed by:

"A racist cop who says it was his duty to protect a white racist building superintendent and shoot a fifteen year old black youth to death.

"James Powell was killed by:

"A fascist-type police force that recruits and trains people for brutality. Any decent human being would quit before two weeks on the force - a gang of storm troopers.

"James Powell was killed by:

"Political bosses who praise Murphy's K.K.K. in blue and call on them to be 'tougher', and other politicians who merely look the other way after each killing.

"James Powell was killed by:

"Millionnaire bosses who own the sweatshops, banks, and stores and pay the police that protect the rich and harass the poor. They use the tactic of divide and rule.

"Their newspapers preach racism to try to pit the white workers against their black brothers. They invent scare stories, magnify minor incidents with huge headlines, and shed phony tears about 'subway violence'. But they never say where the continuous violence comes from - from the racist cop that they try to depict as a 'victim'.

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"Their police forces enforce their racist system throughout the country by killing and arresting the poor people whom the bosses have driven to desperation. The police are given the job of strike-breakers in the struggle for equality - of terrorizing people into fear of protest.

"James Powell was the latest casualty in the war of the bosses against the workers and unemployed, young and old, black and white. The only way to fight against this war on the masses is independent mass organization to fight back."

[NY T-150  
July 22, 1964]

(U)

At a New York Branch WWP meeting on July 24, 1964, [redacted] a WWP member, spoke concerning a meeting he had attended the previous evening of the Harlem Solidarity Committee which consisted of organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), PLM, WWP, etc. [redacted] stated that the Harlem Solidarity [redacted]

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Committee was sponsoring a demonstration on July 28, 1964, at noon in the garment district of New York City. He indicated that the WWP would support the demonstration although the various groups are not necessarily representative of WWP/YAWF views. This does not mean a united front. It means "we" support anything that is for the benefit of the black masses in their present plight. ~~(S)~~

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NY Z-150  
July 27, 1964

~~(S)~~ (U)

At the New York WWP Branch meeting on July 24, 1964, it was stated that a leaflet had been printed for distribution in heavily populated areas of New York City. This leaflet, which reflects that it was prepared by the YAWF, is quoted in part as follows: ~~(S)~~

(U)

"A Message to the  
WHITE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK

"In Defense of the  
BLACK PEOPLE OF HARLEM

"Withdraw the Racist Troops!

"Who occupies Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant,  
armed to the teeth? - The police.

"Who fired all the shots in Harlem and Bedford  
Stuyvesant last week? - The police.

"Who wounded over a hundred people with bullets  
and clubs? - The police.

"Who killed Jay Jenkins and 15-year-old  
James Powell? - The police.

"Who, then, is directly responsible for the  
violence? - The police.

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"The working people of New York must demand that these police be REMOVED. They must demand an end to the invasion of Harlem, an end to the occupation of Bedford-Stuyvesant.

"Write, phone, wire, demonstrate - tell Mayor Wagner to GET THE RACIST COPS OUT OF HARLEM".

[ NY T-150  
July 27, 1964 ] X

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NY 100-153735

Counter-picketing by United States  
Nationalist Party

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United States Nationalist Party (USNP)

Nature of Organization

On May 1, 1964, Luke Dommer, a member of the Nationalist Party (NP), advised that NP was reactivated under the name of USNP with the objective "to safeguard the country from the inroads of communism".

The NP was reactivated in May, 1964 under the name, USNP. It has no actual headquarters or official membership and utilizes Post Office Box 443, Lenox Hill Station, New York, New York 10028 as its mailing address. Luke Dommer, although he has no official title as an officer of the USNP controls its activities. Even though the USNP claims to be solely anti-communist, it has in the past displayed anti-semitic tendencies.

[NY T-151  
July 13, 1964] X (U)

Counter-picketing Activities

At approximately 9:00 p.m., on July 24, 1964, two members of the United States Nationalist Party (USNP) were observed distributing handbills against the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) picketing then going on outside the headquarters of the New York City Police Department (NYCPD), 240 Centre Street, New York City. The handbill advertised a picketing by the USNP starting at 11:30 p.m. on July 25, 1964 in support of Lieutenant [redacted] NYCPD.

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NYCPD

July 24, 1964

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On July 25, 1964, from 11:45 a.m. to 1:10 p.m., 15 persons representing the USNP demonstrated outside the headquarters of the NYCPD in support of Lieutenant [redacted] and in opposition to CORE which had picketed in demand for the arrest and trial of Lieutenant [redacted]

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A spokesman for the USNP stated that the USNP would resume picketing at 8:00 p.m. on July 27, 1964, at the same location under the slogan "Support the Blue and Fight the Reds".

NYCPD  
July 25, 1964

On July 27, 1964, from 8:05 p.m. to 8:55 p.m., approximately 15 members of the USNP demonstrated outside NYCPD headquarters, 240 Centre Street, New York City, in opposition to the CORE pickets and in support of Lieutenant [redacted]

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After the above demonstration, the USNP proceeded, by private automobile to Gracie Mansion, New York City, official residence of Mayor Robert F. Wagner where 7 members of the USNP resumed picketing in support of Lieutenant [redacted]. The picketing here began at 9:50 p.m. and terminated at 10:10 p.m. There were no incidents or arrests resulting from any demonstrations conducted by the USNP.

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NYCPD  
July 27, 1964

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Reaction of Nationally Recognized  
Negro Civil Rights Leaders to  
Demonstrations

At 5:20 p.m., on July 19, 1964, Bayard Rustin and 75 Negro youths were observed on the steps of the Mount Morris Church, at 122nd Street and Morris Avenue, New York City. Rustin told the police that he had gathered the youths together to have them go through the streets of Harlem on that evening urging people to stay off the street to forestall the possibility of additional rioting.

NYCPD  
July 19, 1964

On July 19, 1964, Bayard Rustin attended the funeral of James Powell at the Levy-Delany Funeral Home, 2250 Seventh Avenue, New York City. Immediately following the service, Rustin left the church and attempted to quiet the restive crowd of Negroes that had gathered in front of the funeral home. Rustin entered a sound truck and urged them to go home, but his request was received with replies of "Uncle Tom".

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 20, 1964

On July 19, 1964, James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), while appearing on a WABC-TV program, said he had evidence which "we" consider to be conclusive that the shooting amounted to murder. He said Lieutenant Gilligan should be arrested.

Farmer did not elaborate on the evidence, beyond saying that there was no knife in the hands of the youth, as the police had charged.

Farmer said he had seen a blood orgy on the part of the police on Saturday night. He said he had seen policemen firing guns wildly into the air, shooting into windows, into tenement houses and the Theresa Hotel.

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The police were hysterical, Farmer said, adding that it was his opinion that the Police Commissioner, in the posture which he had adopted in the past few months of self-congratulations for the police department, must assume part of the responsibility for that hysteria.

"The New York Times"  
July 20, 1964

On July 20, 1964, James Farmer, in commenting on a statement of Acting Mayor Paul Screvane of New York City, said he welcomed the statement but that it was "inadequate in this hour of crisis". In his statement Farmer said:

"We are pleased that more Negro police will be used in Harlem.

"The Grand Jury investigation of the murder of James Powell is welcome, though far too long delayed.

"Review by the Deputy Mayor of the Police Department's Complaint Board findings is insufficient to insure fair play for the minority community. A real independent Civilian Review Board is a necessity now.

"The authority of the proposed City Affairs Committee must be defined.

"The intensive recruiting of new police is desirable. CORE points that there are other areas of City Government where Negroes should be recruited."

"The New York Times"  
July 21, 1964

On July 20, 1964, Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League said that Police Commissioner Murphy of New York was partly to blame for the rioting in Harlem.

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Young said also that he put the rest of the blame on the climate created by the Republican Party's nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater for President.

"The New York Times"  
July 21, 1964

James Farmer said on July 21, 1964, that he had assessed the mood in the ghettos and had found it still ugly. He said if prompt action was not taken against Lieutenant Gilligan, there would be trouble that night.

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 22, 1964

On July 21, 1964, James Farmer denied an allegation that walkie talkie radios had been used by youths during the rioting in Harlem.

"The New York Times"  
July 22, 1964

On July 21, 1964, James Farmer, in referring to an announcement of President Johnson, that the FBI had been ordered into the Harlem riots, said the FBI should launch a full and thorough investigation of all the circumstances surrounding that terrible incident. He said "there had been provocation and brutal behavior by the police - by all the circumstances we mean both the bottle throwing and billy-swinging."

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 22, 1964

In commenting on Mayor Wagner's television talk on July 22, 1964, James Farmer received the Mayor's appeal with guarded approval. He said he was glad the Mayor urged more police recruitment among minority groups; he welcomed the Mayor's decision to spend time with minority group committees and he said he shared the Mayor's sentiments regarding law and order being necessary to further civil rights.

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Farmer said, however, that the appeal did not go far enough. He said he had hoped the Mayor would favor an independent Civilian Review Board.

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 23, 1964

On July 22, 1964, Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) said: "Everyone, church leaders, businessmen and leaders of the community, must sit down and find ways of ending the violence which has given us a black eye - and it has also given the civil rights movement a difficult obstacle".

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 23, 1964

"The New York Times", July 25, 1964, contained an article captioned "Police Ban March in Harlem Today; Sponsor Defiant". This article stated in part: "James Farmer disclosed that his organization had decided to hold no demonstrations or rallies in 'ghetto area' for the duration of the current strife."

"The New York Times"  
July 25, 1964

On July 25, 1964, during a conference between the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and [redacted] to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, King said he thought it would be unwise to come to New York and speak in Harlem or Bedford-Stuyvesant because the "Communist groups would do everything to discredit me."

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Both men agreed that King's meeting with Mayor Wagner should take place on the basis that King had been invited by the Mayor and that he had been invited as a moral force and a prominent leader; and that the meeting was official and open, and that the meeting

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would take place with the permission of local leaders or have their representatives present, and that King should be free to make a statement to the press stating that demands of local Negro leaders were legitimate in emphasizing the need for a Civilian Review Board.

"NY 152  
July 25, 1964" (U)

On July 24, 1964, Police Commissioner Michael Murphy banned a protest march scheduled for Saturday afternoon, July 25, 1964, sponsored by the Harlem Defense Council. In commenting on the Commissioner's ban, Bayard Rustin described the act as 'irresponsible, criminal and totalitarian' and said it could lead to disaster if the Police attempted to stop it.

"The New York Times"  
July 25, 1964

On July 26, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Bayard Rustin conferred on the Harlem situation. King sought Rustin's advice as to what his role as a leader in the non-violent resolution in Harlem, should be. Rustin advised King to urge Mayor Wagner to face the problems of housing, school and jobs and to say that many Negro leaders in New York were united in seeing them as the major problems. King and Rustin considered the advisability of King making an appearance and speech to end the violence in New York, as he had done in Southern communities. King said he thought it would be a mistake because some of the groups might be determined to repudiate him and he would not get a chance to speak.

"NY T-153  
July 26, 1964" (U)

On July 26, 1964, James Farmer said the "black nationalists" were the only ones who could possibly benefit from what happened in Harlem in the last

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few days. Concerning Police Commissioner Murphy, Farmer said the dismissal of Murphy was the only way of getting Mayor Wagner off his seat. "If the Mayor would issue the orders and Murphy would obey them it would not matter who was commissioner", Farmer said.

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 27, 1964

On July 26, 1964, Bayard Rustin said that black nationalism would increase as a consequence of the riots in Harlem because it represents the profound disgust and desperation of the people.

"New York Herald Tribune"  
July 27, 1964

On July 27, 1964, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. and Bayard Rustin, among others, met with Mayor Robert F. Wagner, New York City, to determine ways of preventing further racial disturbances in New York City.

Two of King's announced proposals were that he would request the creation of a Civilian Review Board to hear complaints of police brutality, and would request the suspension of Lieutenant Thomas Gilligan.

"The New York Times"  
July 28, 1964

On July 28, 1964 Bayard Rustin conferred with [redacted] a [redacted] said he was concerned about Reverend Martin Luther King and Mayor Robert F. Wagner "as opposed to the United Council".

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"The New York Times", July 28, 1964, page 15, column 2, reported that the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., met with Mayor Robert F. Wagner on the night of July 27, 1964, in New York City. According

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to the article, Livingston L. Wingate, a member of the newly formed United Council of Harlem organizations, expressed displeasure at the presence of King in the city, and said representatives of the Harlem community groups were mad at the Mayor for importing King and resented King's discussing community problems with the Mayor before talking to them.

Rustin said on the day Mayor Wagner returned to New York (from vacation, July 22, 1964) he asked King to come to New York City. King refused, Rustin said, informing the Mayor that until he (the Mayor) met with the "Unity Council" and until he (King) had met with them thereafter, he could not come to New York.

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Rustin, in continuing, said he conferred with [redacted] on July 27, 1964, and had been told by him that King should come to New York as the council would meet with him.

[NY T-153  
July 28, 1964] X (U)

On July 29, 1964, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., while holding a press conference in New York City, announced that his presence in New York was to support absolutely the "Unity Council" and their demands which they had presented to the Mayor. He said he was not in New York to subvert the "Unity Council" of Harlem because it is the true representative of the Harlem community and that he had made that clear to the Mayor.

King said he had told the Mayor that: "Law and order cannot exist in a vacuum --- law and order must be based on confidence of the people in the city authorities.

"The kind of non-violence for which I stand can flourish when the basic economic and social needs of the oppressed are being met - and those who rule

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our cities have a major responsibility to give vigorous leadership to that end".

"The New York Times"  
July 29, 1964

On July 29, 1964, four leaders of major civil rights organizations met in New York City and urged their members to observe a "broad curtailment if not total moratorium" on all mass demonstrations until after the Presidential election on November 3, 1964. The four who signed the statement urging a halt to demonstrations, looting and rioting were Roy Wilkins, Martin Luther King, Whitney M. Young, Jr., and A. Philip Randolph, Chairman of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC).

Two other leaders who were present at the meeting but who did not sign the declaration were James Farmer and John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

"The New York Times"  
July 30, 1964

On July 31, 1964, Bayard Rustin conferred with an individual who represented himself to be [redacted] of Radio Station WLUB, New York City. [redacted] requested a statement from Rustin as to the Mayor's rejection of the demands of civil rights leaders for the establishment of an independent Civilian Review Board. To this, Rustin said he had maintained from the very beginning that two things were necessary to insure racial peace in New York; that a police review board be established and that Lieutenant [redacted] of the NYPD be suspended.

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Rustin said it was obvious that "we" (Negro leaders) could not go to the Negro community and ask that they refrain from demonstrating unless the city officials of New York City are going to accede to these demands.

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Rustin said it was tragic that Mayor Wagner had not seen fit to act. He said under these circumstances he would not urge anyone in New York to respect the request of civil rights leaders, that they not demonstrate.

Rustin's opinion of Police Commissioner Murphy was sought by [redacted] prompting him to say that Murphy was the chief culprit and should be dismissed immediately. The grounds for Murphy's dismissal Rustin said, should be: "That he used more 'violence' than necessary during the riots; that he continues to permit crime in Harlem; and has failed to move against Lieutenant [redacted]"

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[NY 153  
July 31, 1964]

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During the night of July 31, 1964, Bayard Rustin conferred with the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. They discussed the statement of Mayor Wagner which was issued on that date (announcing the rejection of their demands for the establishment of a Civilian Review Board). Rustin told King the general feeling in New York was that his (the Mayor's proposal) was "not enough, as we told him".

King said he was getting many calls asking for his comments on the Mayor's statement. Rustin replied that there was only one thing for King to say and that was "that you (King) made it clear when you came to New York that you felt that one thing that would bring peace and harmony was the nine point program which included the Review Board and that you were very sorry that the Mayor did not see his way clear to do it".

Rustin also said King should expect to receive questions as to whether he thought people in New York should break the moratorium on demonstrations. Rustin advised him to answer by stating that he was not in New York and that that was up to the people of New York to decide.

[NY T-153  
July 31, 1964]

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INJUNCTION AGAINST FURTHER DEMONSTRATION

Progressive Labor Movement,  
Harlem Defense Council,  
Community Council on Housing:

[redacted] [redacted]  
Jesse Gray

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On July 25, 1964, an injunction restraining certain defendants from demonstrating was obtained in New York Supreme Court, New York County, and providing for hearing on July 27, 1964, to show cause why an order should not be made against such demonstrating, and affording any other relief as might be proper.

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The injunction was sought by the New York Police Department, with the City of New York and People of the State of New York by Frank S. Hogan, New York County District Attorney, as Plaintiff, against [redacted], Jesse Gray, [redacted] these last three being fictitious but intended as members, officers and directors of PLM, HDC and CCH, as well as any persons or organizations associated with them.

The restraint obtained and sought to be extended was to cover a specified area of Manhattan (New York County), generally known as Harlem.

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The order was granted on July 25, 1964, by Justice Charles Marks, on the basis of an affidavit by [redacted] [redacted] NYPD. He made note of the current disturbances of the peace, and set out that on July 18, 1964, [redacted] and others had made public an intention

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to incite to riot, and quoted a portion of a transcript of [redacted] remarks, obtained by the PD and made a part of the application for the order.  
The quotation:

"If we're going to be free, and we will not fully be free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking.

And in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army."

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"That's the only way to gain freedom."

The entire transcript is set out hereinafter.

[redacted] also stated that on July 20, 1964, defendants distributed in Harlem, leaflets, a copy of one was made another attachment, in which it was asserted:

"The events of the last two days have shown that if we are not organized we are just a mob and not in a position to properly deal with the enemy."

Further, the affidavit alleged that defendants had threatened a march on a police precinct on West 135th Street, that police reports had established that [redacted] at a PLM meeting on July 19, 1964, had said incidents would be created on side streets to draw police there, who would then be the target of missiles and bottles with inflammatory and destructive substances. "Block Captains" would instruct on preparation of such weapons.

An accompanying affidavit of support by District Attorney Hogan urged that the order be issued to prevent violation of the New York State criminal anarchy statute.

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of [redacted] There follows the text of the statements as taken by the NYPD and marked exhibit A:

"July 21, 1964

"Excerpts from A Speech By [redacted] Of Progressive Labor Movement On July 18, 1964, At 4:00 PM, On Lenox Avenue At 115th Street.

"That shows you how this system is so interwoven, because you must understand... (inaudible) When they set up a state, they set up all the apparatus to protect and save that state. They set up the courts; they set up the army; they set up an educational system; they set up the newspaper; they set up all the apparatuses to brain-wash, and to keep up the subjugation. If we're going to be free, and we will not fully be free until we smash this state completely and totally. Destroy and set up a new state of our own choosing and our own liking.

"And in that process of smashing this state, we're going to have to kill a lot of these cops, a lot of these judges, and we'll have to go up against their army. We'll organize our own militia and our own army, If we don't do it brothers, we be subjugated; we'll be kept in chains for another two or three hundred years. Think about it because no people in this world ever achieved independence and freedom through the ballot or having it legislated to them. All people in this world who are free got their freedom through struggle and through revolution. That's the only way to gain freedom.

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"So I tell him now and I tell my black brother on my right that they had better choose their sides. Because when the deal goes down, when the deal is finished sister we will have to go too unless he chooses the right side. There is only one right side. That's your side. That's the cause of the people and what we demand and that we will get. What we will take. We will take our freedom. We

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will take it by any means necessary and any means necessary as we know the beast that we are dealing with is that we have to create a revolution in this country and we will create a new government that is run by the people. That is run by the black people and some of the poor white people who are catching hell too. And they don't know it yet but if they don't join with us when the deal goes down we don't have time to wait for them. We are going to roll on. We are going to roll on the freedom and independence and liberation.. Those who are ready to come with us and stand with us and join the Harlem Defense Council to help protect the mothers and protect the streets and our neighborhoods they will give their money to those mothers who have joined together to save their sons. They will go back into their blocks and organize their blocks into defense committees so when the deal goes through they will be able to be in the street tens of thousands strong ready to face that man. And we know how to use weapons just like they know how to use weapons. And when the deal goes down we have to be ready to confront them and beat them. I tell you brothers and sisters the message that we are carrying they will carry around Harlem on every corner every Saturday 9 to 6 P.M. to enlighten our people, to organize our people and to make our people aware of the fact of what is happening with these six youngsters and to make our people aware of the fact that in order for us to achieve our freedom and independence we must organize and fight this beast and destroy him. Next week we will probably be on 114th Street and Eighth Avenue and from there we will go down Eighth Avenue and up to Seventh Avenue and on and on until all our people get the message. In order to be prepared for this demonstration that we are going to organize in the newspaper. We will tell you where we will be, how we will be, and what methods we are going to use to stop these cops. That should be our slogan - "Stop the Cops".

On July 27, 1964, Defendants responded at Special Term, Park I, Justice Gerald P. Culkin presiding. Conrad Lynn appeared as attorney for [REDACTED] and PLM, [REDACTED] as attorney for LYNN, [REDACTED] as attorney for [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] and HDC and Abraham Unger appeared for Gray and CCH after the proceedings started.

Detective [redacted] Bureau of Special Services (BSS) New York City Police Department testified that [redacted] spoke on July 18, 1964, at street meeting at 115th Street and Lenox Ave., and said there was going to be a demonstration, not necessarily peaceful, that he [redacted] was preaching violence, also that people of Harlem should kill some cops. [redacted] also said to [redacted] that [redacted] as a police officer of Puerto Rican origin, should be aware of subjugation of Puerto Ricans and should join in fight against cops.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] testified he was equipped with a device to receive [redacted] remarks for relay to a recorder.

b6  
b7C

Patrolman [redacted] testified he was at same location with receiving device to record [redacted] remarks by way of [redacted] transmitter. He produced the recording and a transcript thereof.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] then identified that material and noted that [redacted] had said the Negro must be free, that they were going to kill cops and judges, that no revolution can be won by peaceful means, that they would have to fight, and they would not be fully free until they smash this state totally and completely.

b6  
b7C

Patrol [redacted] testified that on July 19, 1964, he had attended a meeting at 336 Lenox Ave., where [redacted] had spoken of organizing a march on July 25, 1964, beginning at Lenox Ave. and 114th St., thence north on Lenox Ave., to the 135th St. police station. People would join at each block, and on side streets disturbances would be created, to suck cops into the block and, hemmed in, would be the object of bottles filled with flammable liquid. Each block would have a captain. [redacted] obtained a leaflet headed "Stop the Cops", placed in evidence.

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Detective [redacted] of BSS testified concerning a demonstration at the United Nations on July 20, 1964, at which Gray was interviewed by the press. Gray was asked about a leaflet with the name of CCH appearing on it, and Gray had told an unidentified reporter that PLM had made up the leaflet for his use. This leaflet called for organizing the demonstration on July 25, 1964.

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b7C

The plaintiff closed their case, and Lynn was given to August 3, 1964, for filing of briefs. Unger requested a hearing for his clients, this being set for July 28, 1964.

At the July 28, 1964, session of the hearing, Detective [redacted] Bureau of Special Services (BSS) of the NYPD, testified to statements of Jesse Gray made at the meeting of July 19, 1964. Gray asked all to attend a demonstration at the United Nations on July 20, 1964, and also called for 100 men ready to die, who would be trained in guerilla warfare.

b6  
b7C

Another police witness was Detective [redacted] BSS, on duty outside the meeting place on July 19, 1964, who testified to disorder outside the building. When asked on cross-examination if he had heard other inflammatory remarks on conditions in Harlem, [redacted] said he could recall only two such instances in his three and one-half years experience in that area, although he had heard criticism of conditions many times.

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b7C

[redacted] a Negro, who is a reporter for the [redacted] newspaper, appeared as a witness for the plaintiff under subpoena and verified his story under his by line in that newspaper's issue of July 20, 1964. He had written that Gray, at the July 19, 1964, meeting had called for "100 skilled black revolutionaries who are ready to die" to correct alleged police brutality in Harlem. On cross-examination, [redacted] said his article may have been edited, but the quotation was not out of context. [redacted] also noted that guerilla warfare was mentioned by Gray in connection with Mississippi and as likely in New York.

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NY 100-153735

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b7C

[redacted] with  
Unger for Gray, urged Judge Culkin to dismiss the application saying right of petition had been taken away, that there was no proof of crime of conspiracy on part of Gray. This was denied.

Gray in testimony, denied any connection with PLM or HDC, denied any help in organizing demonstration against which preliminary injunction was obtained, or participation in preparation of leaflet in evidence. He claimed demonstration held at UN on July 20, 1964, was peaceful and aimed at promoting demands for improvement of Harlem conditions. Gray said his remarks on July 19, 1964, were in protest against police action and a call for a civilian board to review allegations of police brutality and for investigation of shooting of James Powell. He related that at this meeting of July 19, 1964, he had said many people believe that guerilla warfare might be necessary in Mississippi and something might be needed in New York. Secondly, he had said one hundred dedicated men were needed to defend Negroes by organizing a total of 50,000 to support demands for improvements in employment, housing and other social betterment. He denied any intention to participate in demonstration scheduled by PLM and HDC.

On July 29, 1964, Jesse Gray testified that he had not participated in any of the violence in Harlem, but that he was the victim of an unprovoked blow by a policeman resulting in a cut on his face that required stitching at a hospital where he saw other people who had been injured. He attributed the looting to a general frustration but said only a minute percentage of people engaged in looting.

Judge Culkin asked what he had done to ease the riot situation, and Gray responded that he had called for an investigation of the shooting of Powell, that he had sought a disciplined reaction to that incident.

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On Cross-examination, Gray admitted use of phrase "guerilla warfare" with reference to Mississippi, and that he had said something had to be done in New York. He admitted making a call for one hundred black revolutionaries, but said it was not a call for action against the police.

[redacted] Gray said he had not had contact with [redacted] since a rent strike early in the year, and did not know of participation by PLM in rent strike demonstrations. He was shown photos depicting Gray and others at such a demonstration on February 8, 1964, and denied knowledge of the identity of the others. He said he could not recall if [redacted] was present at the UN demonstration on July 20, 1964. He could not recall if William Patterson attended the meeting on July 19, 1964, although he admitted he was acquainted with him. He said he did not know Robert Thompson. He denied any leaflet was prepared by PLM or CCH, and said the leaflet in evidence was prepared without his knowledge or consent, although admitting he had not made any protest.

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b7C

On redirect examination Gray said many demonstrations have been held by CCH, with no objection to participation by others, as it is an organization open to all races. He said "black revolutionaires" meant to him persons going out into the community to bring about a change for the better.

Patrolman [redacted] identified the photographs as taken of a demonstration on February 8, 1964, and Detective [redacted] testified to the identification of [redacted] and [redacted] appearing in the photos, as members of PLM and [redacted] as a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

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The hearing was then closed, with Judge Culkin setting July 31, 1964, for the filing of briefs, decision to be rendered thereafter.

NY 100-153735

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NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT STATISTICS

During the course of demonstrations and violence following the shooting of James Powell, the following statistics were compiled:

Manhattan

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Civilians Killed                | 1   |
| Civilians Injured               | 91  |
| Members of Police Force Injured | 37  |
| Arrests                         | 190 |
| Properties Damaged              | 119 |

Brooklyn

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Civilians Killed                | 0   |
| Civilians Injured               | 10  |
| Members of Police Force Injured | 8   |
| Arrests                         | 306 |
| Properties damaged              | 513 |

NYCPD  
August 6, 1964

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~  
III - COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE  
IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. Committee To Advance Racial  
Integration in the Schools (CARIS)

CARIS, Post Office Box 102, Kensington Station, Brooklyn 18, New York, has stated purpose of achieving a fully integrated quality educational program for all school children in New York City in the shortest possible time.

[NY T-17  
May 11, 1964]

X (U)

The following are officers of CARIS:

[REDACTED]  
HARVEY FREEMAN

X (U)

b6  
b7C

This organization has no stated policy with respect to the Communist Party. X (U)

[NY T-215  
July, 1964]

X (U)

[REDACTED] member of the New York State CP Commission on Schools, recently stated that [REDACTED] were both current members of the CP. X (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-36  
August 13, 1964]

X (U)

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

SYLVIA COHEN, a member of the CP from March, 1962 to October, 1963, advised on December 18, 1962, that the Flatbush Club of the CP held its regular meeting at the [redacted], New York, and that [redacted] was present at this meeting.

b6  
b7C

At the June 12, 1964 meeting of the Kings County CP Council, DANNY RUBEL, a Kings County CP Council member stated, "We should help CARIS as much as possible". ~~SECRET~~

(U)

[NY T-17  
June 15, 1964]

X (U)

- 448 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

B. Congress of Racial Equality

The Congress of Racial Equality will be referred to as CORE in this report unless reference is being made to a chapter of CORE. The designation then will be proceeded by the name of the chapter.

The Communist Party, USA, will be referred to as the CPUSA.

ORIGIN AND PURPOSES

[redacted] On April 14, 1964 [redacted]

[redacted] CORE, [redacted] New York City, made available a brochure which sets forth background information concerning CORE.

Pertinent information in this brochure is set forth below.

"The first CORE group was organized in 1942 by [redacted] National CORE [redacted] and a group of students at the University of Chicago who believed that it was time, in his words, 'to substitute bodies for exhortations.' The bodies went into service immediately in sit-ins and on picket lines. CORE spread across the country as its local chapters pioneered in non-violent techniques. Its early victories included desegregation of dime store lunch counters in St. Louis and Baltimore, theatres in Denver and Washington, a swimming pool at the Palisades Amusement Park in New Jersey. The list has kept growing.

"There were sit-ins at Miami lunch counters, a Pilgrimage of Prayer in Richmond to protest the closing of Virginia's public schools, a campaign for voter registration in four counties of South Carolina. During the first year of that campaign, new Negro voters in one precinct elected 16 or 17 representatives to the Democratic county convention.

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

In Columbia, the Negro vote was decisive in defeating a segregationist candidate for mayor. In recent years, CORE chapters have been operating extensively in the Deep South, concentrating on the fundamental problems of voter registration, Negro employment and integration of public accommodations.

"CORE's non-violent methods have also been increasingly effective in desegregating employment, schools and housing in the North. CORE is content with neither tokenism, nor aggressiveness has sometimes provoked criticism. At one point, The New York Times complained editorially that CORE's tactics were inconveniencing 'innocent bystanders.' CORE replied that, on the issue of civil rights, there can be no innocent bystanders. Those who stand by while others are made targets for discrimination and bigotry must share in the guilt.

"By the time sit-ins attracted national attention in 1960, direct action had been enabling CORE members to fight discrimination in their own communities for 18 years. CORE's action projects have been carried out by local people whenever appropriate, and they have always been non-violent...

"CORE sees discrimination as a problem for all Americans. Not just Negroes suffer from it and not just Negroes will profit when it is eliminated. Furthermore, Negroes alone cannot eliminate it. Equality cannot be seized any more than it can be given. It must be a shared experience.

"CORE is an inter-racial group. Membership involves no religious affiliation. It is open to anybody who opposes racial discrimination, who wants to fight it and who will adhere to CORE's rules. The only people not welcome in CORE are 'those Americans whose loyalty is primarily to a foreign power and those whose tactics and beliefs are contrary to democracy and human values.' CORE has only one enemy: discrimination, and only one function; to fight that enemy. It has no desire to complicate its task by acquiring a subversive taint, and it avoids partisan politics of any kind...

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"Much of CORE's work is carried on by its chapters. These vary in structure according to their locations and the specific problems they face. They support themselves through membership dues and contributions from local supporters..."

"The national office co-ordinates the work of its local chapters. It organizes training conferences and workshops which teach the theory and practice of non-violent action and give chapters an opportunity to exchange ideas and information. Its field staff encourages the formation of new groups and assists existing ones...."

"National CORE plans and carries out action projects which are designed to focus attention on problems of national significance. The Freedom Rides, in 1961, are the best known example of this..."

On April 14, 1964, [redacted] advised that each local chapter is autonomous and acts independently from the National Office of CORE. He stated that as long as these chapters conform to the general policies of CORE, they act with the approval of CORE. However, in those instances where the local chapter of CORE acts contrary to the policy set forth by the National Office the local chapter faces disciplinary action by the National Office.

As an example, [redacted] cited the action of the Brooklyn Chapter of CORE in calling for a "stall-in" in opposition to the policy of CORE, resulting in CORE completely suspending all CORE activities of the Brooklyn Chapter. The "stall-in" calls for "tying up" all main traffic arteries to the World's Fair, New York City, on April 22, 1964.

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b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

As of April 14, 1964, the Brooklyn Chapter, according to [redacted] was still under suspension and the National Office had not yet decided what further action to take against the Brooklyn Chapter.

b6  
b7C

On April 14, 1964, [redacted] advised that, to his knowledge, there is no Communist control or domination of either CORE or any of its local chapters with the possible exception of the Brooklyn, New York, and Queens, New York Chapters of CORE.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated that [redacted], who is active in the Brooklyn Chapter of CORE, is an admitted former CPUSA member.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised that he suspects one or two other individuals in the Brooklyn Chapter might be CPUSA members or at least sympathetic to the CPUSA cause but stated he was unable to furnish any basis for his suspicions or the identities of those he suspects.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] further advised that in the Queens Chapter of CORE he suspects that [redacted] who is active in the Queens Chapter is a CPUSA sympathizer. [redacted] was unable to furnish any specific basis for this belief.

b6  
b7C

LOCATION

b6  
b7C

On April 14, 1964, [redacted] advised that the office of CORE is located at 30 Park Row, New York City.

OFFICERS OF CORE

b6  
b7C

On April 14, 1964, [redacted] advised that the officers of CORE are:

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

CHAPTERS

~~SECRET~~

Brooklyn Chapter

The following list of officers of Brooklyn CORE,  
319 Nostrand Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, were made available:



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b7C

NY T-229

[ April 6, 1964 ] X (U)

[redacted] attended a meeting of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section, Executive Committee, Kings County CP (KCCP), which was held on May 15, 1958, at 500 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, New York. \*

b6  
b7C

NY T-4

[ May 16, 1958 ] X (U)

It was announced at a meeting of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Section, Executive Committee, KCCP, which was held on October 29, 1958, at 500 Washington Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, that [redacted] had left the CPUSA because he felt that the CPUSA was doing nothing then and he could not work with the leadership at that time. \*

b6  
b7C

NY T-71

[ October 30, 1958 ] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

[redacted] attended a street meeting on June 29, 1961, at DeKalb and Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, which meeting was sponsored by the KCCP. \*

[redacted]  
NY T-71  
July 5, 1961] X (U)

b6  
b7C

It is believed that [redacted] is not a current CPUSA member.

[redacted]  
NY T-71  
April 3, 1964] X

(U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] is the [redacted] of the Tenants Committee of Brooklyn CORE.

NY T-50  
February 6, 1964

[redacted] was in attendance at a meeting of the Flatbush Club, CP, Brooklyn, New York, which was held on November 13, 1961, at [redacted] residence, [redacted] Brooklyn, New York. \*

(U)

[redacted]  
NY T-118 and NY T-117  
November 16, 1961] X

(U)

b6  
b7C

Bronx Chapter

The following list of officers of Bronx CORE, 1315 Boston Road, Bronx, New York, were made available:

[redacted]

Picket Leader  
Picket Leader  
Picket Leader

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-229  
April 6, 1964] ~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The names of 10 participants in past Bronx CORE demonstrations, including [redacted]  
[redacted] Bronx, New York, were made available.

b6  
b7C

NYCPD  
April 6, 1964

On August 16, 1962, [redacted] attended a meeting of the Bronx CPUSA Press Committee which was held at 3810 Park Avenue, Bronx, New York. ✕ (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-40 and NY T- 167]  
August 20, 1962

✖ (U)

Manhattan Chapters

1. Downtown CORE

officers of

The following list of/Downtown CORE, 64 Delancey Street, New York City, was made available:

b6  
b7C

[NY T-229  
April 6, 1964] ✕ (U)

- 455 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

[redacted] attended a meeting of the CPUSA in the lower Manhattan area of New York City, on April 6, 1964. ~~X~~

[redacted] NY T- 33 and NY T- 32  
April 7, 1964 ~~X~~

(U)

b6  
b7C

The names of eight participants in past Downtown CORE demonstrations, including [redacted], were made available.

[redacted] NY T-229  
April 6, 1964 ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] attended a general membership meeting of Burning Issues which was held at 80 Clinton Street, New York, New York, on January 16, 1963. [redacted] was named to a social committee at this meeting. ~~X~~ (U)

[redacted] NY T-28  
February 6, 1963  
NY T- 168  
February 8, 1963 ~~X~~

(U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] attended a Burning Issues Forum which was held at 80 Clinton Street, New York, New York, on January 23, 1963. The meeting, according to each of the informants, was addressed by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON. ~~X~~ (U)

[redacted] a member of the CPUSA from December, 1947 to 1957, and from December, 1961 to October, 1963 ~~X~~

(U)

[redacted] NY T- 168  
January 24, 1963  
NY T- 64  
January 28, 1963  
NY T-28  
February 6, 1963 ~~X~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

per many of you

September 24 1964

A characterization of Burning Issues is attached to the appendix section of this report.

"The Worker", issue of September 24, 1961, page 11, refers to WILLIAM L. PATTERSON as Chairman of the New York State CP.

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

2. Uptown CORE

The following list of officers of Uptown CORE, Room 101, Hotel Theresa, 2970 7th Avenue, New York, was made available:

b6  
b7C

3. East River CORE

NY T-229  
April 6, 1964 X (U)

The following list of officers of East River Core, 81 East 125th Street, Room 211-212, New York City, was made available:

Steering Committee  
Steering Committee  
Steering Committee

Steering Committee  
Steering Committee

Block Captain  
Block Captain

- 457

NY T-229  
April 6, 1964

(U)

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted], who is also known as [redacted] attended an informal discussion group which was held by Socialist Workers Party (SWP) members in New Haven, Connecticut, on June 9, 1963.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] stated during the discussion that he had discontinued his membership in the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in New York City, and that he was not affiliated with any organization. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T- 169]  
[June 10, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of the YSA is attached to the Appendix section of this report.

Queens Chapter

The following list of officers of Queens CORE, 112-30 Farmers Boulevard, Queens, New York, was made available:

[redacted]

b6  
b7C

[NY T-229]  
[April 6, 1964] ~~(S)~~ (U)

- 458 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

One of the CPUSA members who attended the National CPUSA meeting held in New York City during the period June 21 to June 25, 1962, stated, while at a party which was held on June 23, 1962, at the [redacted]

[redacted] New York, that [redacted] was not a member of the CPUSA at that time, but that he planned to try to get [redacted] back into the CPUSA in the near future. \*

b6  
b7C

(U)

[NY T- 98  
July 24, 1962] ✕

(U)

A member of the CPUSA from 1949 to 1951, advised on January 13, 1954, that she knew [redacted] to be a member of the CPUSA during her membership.

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
January 13, 1954

A meeting was held on November 22, 1957, at the Parkway Plaza, Brooklyn, New York, for CPUSA members of Brooklyn, New York, who were interested in youth matters.

[redacted] was in attendance at this meeting. \*

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 71  
November 25, 1957] ✕ (U)

#### Staten Island Chapter (S.I. CORE)

##### 1. Location

S.I. CORE will in the future hold their meetings on the first and third Tuesdays of the month rather than approximately every Tuesday evening as they have in the past at the Markham Community Center, Markham Housing Project, Broadway and Richmond Terrace, Staten Island, New York.

[NY T- 170  
July 29, 1964] ✕ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of S.I. CORE which was held on Staten Island, New York, on July 14, 1964, the following officers of S.I. CORE were elected:

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] declined to accept a position as an officer of S.I. CORE. [REDACTED] stated she did not want S.I. CORE attacked because of her [REDACTED] past activities, as had the Parents and Teachers Association on Staten Island been attacked when [REDACTED] ran for office in that organization some time ago. [REDACTED] replaced [REDACTED] as [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

NY T-171  
July 16, 1964] X (U)

A CPUSA meeting was held on Staten Island on February 24, 1963. A discussion was held as to whether another group should be brought into the CP group having the meeting. One of the members objected to the inclusion of [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] a CPUSA member present, stated, "Well, we can't forget [REDACTED] is [REDACTED] of the Party on Staten Island, (U) and is recognized as such." X

b6  
b7C

NY T-93  
February 25, 1963] X

(U)

- 460 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~CORE~~

b6  
b7C

As of October 30, 1953, [redacted]  
was a member of the Professional Group  
of the CPUSA in New Orleans, Louisiana,  
and some of the meetings of this group  
were held in [redacted] home. X (U)

[NY T- 172  
October 30, 1953] X (U)

b6  
b7C

On June 7, 1963, a Kings County CPUSA  
Committee meeting was held at 1110  
Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York. (U)  
[redacted] was present at this  
meeting. X

[NY T- 4  
June 10, 1963] X (U)

### 3. Membership if S.I. CORE

S. I. CORE has a total membership of 700 individuals  
which includes associate members who are members in name only  
but who joined S.I. CORE in order to assist it in its activities  
by paying yearly dues of \$3 per year which is the dues assess-  
ment for both active and associate members. There are 25  
active members in S.I. CORE.

Some of the associate members of S.I. CORE are

[NY T-170  
April 10, 1964] X (U)

b6  
b7C

On March 7, 1964, a CPUSA meeting was held  
at [redacted]  
[redacted] New York, [redacted]  
[redacted] were among  
those present at the meeting. X (U)

[NY T-93  
March 2, 1964] X (U)

b6  
b7C

~~CORE~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On July 1, 1961, while attending a CPUSA meeting in Staten Island, [redacted]

[redacted] stated that [redacted] goes to CPUSA meetings in New York City. On January 15, 1962, while at a CPUSA meeting in Staten Island, New York, [redacted] stated that his wife was then a member of the CPUSA. ~~(S)~~

b6  
b7C

(U)

NY T-93  
July 3, 1961  
January 16, 1962

~~(S)~~

(U)

#### 4. Activities of S.I. CORE

In addition to its meetings S.I. CORE holds demonstrations and rallies in the area of Staten Island, New York, whenever its members believe it is pertinent to hold such demonstrations and rallies, in order to achieve the aims and purposes for which National CORE and its chapters were formed.

The demonstrations of S.I. CORE include picketing and boycotting, such as the picketing of an establishment wherein they believe racial discrimination is being practiced or the boycotting of a local school in which a racial incident may have occurred.

NY T-170  
August 10, 1964

~~(S)~~  
(U)

#### 5. Picketing by Individuals with CPUSA Sympathies in S.I. CORE Activities

On various dates from August 24, 1961, through July 14, 1964, [redacted] attended 18 separate functions of S.I. CORE, such as an S.I. CORE rally, meeting or demonstration.

b6  
b7C

NY T-170 NY T-171, NY T-174  
and NY T-175  
Various dates from August 29, 1961 to July 16, 1964

~~(S)~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On various dates from August 24, 1961 through June 16, 1964, [redacted] attended 32 separate functions of S.I. CORE, such as an S.I. CORE rally, meeting or demonstration.

b6  
b7C

[NY T-170, NY T-171, NY T-174 and NY T-175]  
Various dates from August 29, 1961 to July 7, 1964]

(U)

X

On various dates from May 28, 1963 to July 14, 1964, [redacted] attended six S.I. CORE rallies or meetings.

b6  
b7C

[NY T-170, NY T-171, NY T-174 and NY T-175]  
Various dates from June 4, 1963 to July 16, 1964]

(U)

X

On various dates from August 24, 1961 to August 25, 1963, [redacted] attended three separate S.I. CORE rallies.

b6  
b7C

[NY T-170, NY T-171 and NY T-174]  
Various dates from August 29, 1961 to August 26, 1963]

(U)

X

On various dates from August 24, 1961 to August 25, 1963, [redacted] attended three rallies and one meeting of S.I. CORE.

b6  
b7C

[NY T-170, NY T-171 and NY T-174]  
Various dates from August 29, 1961 to August 26, 1963]

(U)

X

On various dates from August 24, 1961 to August 25, 1963, [redacted] attended two rallies and one meeting of S.I. CORE.

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b7C

[NY T-170]  
Various dates from August 29, 1961 to August 26, 1963]

(U)

X

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

A CPUSA meeting was held on December 8, 1963, at the [redacted] New York. During the course of the meeting, [redacted] referred to [redacted] as then being CPUSA members. X

b6  
b7C

(U)

NY T- 93  
December 9, 1963

(U)

b6  
b7C

The only time [redacted] influence or control in the functioning of S.I. CORE is shown, is when a picketing is arranged by S.I. CORE.

b6  
b7C

Since [redacted] is self-employed, he can leave his employment at any time and make arrangements for the picketing as well as participate in it.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] due to his nature, likes to participate in this type of activity and the membership of S.I. CORE, recognizing this trait, permits him to do so inasmuch as almost all the other members are unable to participate.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] has little influence in policy making decisions of S.I. CORE.

b6  
b7C

An example of the influence of [redacted] in the activities of S.I. CORE is cited in the fact that the membership of S.I. CORE recently voted against a resolution made jointly by [redacted] that S.I. CORE participate in National CORE's "stall-in" at the World's Fair.

b6  
b7C

Members of S.I. CORE know that [redacted] drinks, but though [redacted] always "has a few in him" he is never "really drunk".

- 464 -

~~SECRET~~

NY100-153735

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

[redacted] is somewhat "unstable", but not to the extent that it is obvious to everyone who meets him.

[redacted] NY T-171  
June 19, 1964 ] X (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] are interested in "having things run their way" in S.I. CORE but up to this time they have been unsuccessful.

The Vice Chairman of S.I. CORE as well as another charter member of S.I. CORE carefully weigh any suggestions made by either of the [redacted] as to the activities of S.I. CORE before it is decided if their suggestions are in the best interests of S.I. CORE.

[redacted] NY T-170  
June 23, 1964 ] X (U)

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b7C

b6  
b7C

[redacted] was present at a meeting of S.I. CORE held on June 9, 1964. [redacted] took "only a passive interest" in the meeting and did not discuss any activity of his committee, the Investigations and Fact Finding Committee.

[redacted] NY T-170  
June 17, 1964 ] X (U)

The function of the Facts and Investigations Committee is to investigate complaints of any Negroes who allege that racial discrimination has been practiced when they attempted to purchase a home on Staten Island.

[redacted] NY T- 170  
August 10, 1964 ] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a S.I. CORE picnic which was held on September 26, 1961, on Staten Island, New York, [redacted] were among the individuals present at the picnic.

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 170  
September 26, 1961] X (U)

At a S.I. CORE party which was held on January 1, 1962, on Staten Island, New York, [redacted] were among the individuals present at the party.

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 170  
January 10, 1962] X (U)

At a S.I. CORE meeting which was held on May 1, 1962, on Staten Island, New York, it was announced that [redacted] had donated \$30 to S.I. CORE.

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 170  
May 11, 1962] X (U)

(U) 6. Pertinent CPUSA Activity and Interest in S.I. CORE

At a CPUSA meeting held on January 3, 1960, at the [redacted] New York, [redacted] made the statement that [redacted] would be invited to the next meeting as a delegate from the [redacted] group in an effort to "wipe out" differences between their CPUSA group and the [redacted] group and to see if the membership might be consolidated. X (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 93  
January 5, 1960] X (U)

At a CPUSA meeting held on January 14, 1960, at the [redacted] New York, [redacted] told those in attendance that he did not want [redacted] in their CPUSA club. [redacted] said it would be alright to coordinate activities between their group and the other group on major issues and to "keep up" liaison with them. X (U)

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b7C

[NY T- 93  
January 28, 1960] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153785

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] belong to a CPUSA group on Staten Island, New York, which could be described as an industrial division or group and which is actually a "splinter" group from a New York City Printing "Group" of the CPUSA, of which [redacted] were, and possibly still, are members. Membership in this group, which is small, is restricted to men employed in industry. X (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-93  
May 16, 1960] X (U)

[redacted] and possibly one other individual are members of a CPUSA group on Staten Island, New York, which is known as a CP "street unit". X

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-93  
May 16, 1960] X (U)

At a recent CPUSA meeting held at the home of [redacted] New York, consideration was given by the CPUSA members present to admitting other CPUSA members into the group and the name of [redacted] was suggested as a possibility. It was decided that [redacted] would not be considered for admission because he drinks too much. X (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-93  
January 16, 1962] X (U)

On February 24, 1963, a CPUSA meeting was held at 29 Stecher Street, Staten Island, New York, and that among the CPUSA members present were [redacted] and [redacted]

Following the collection of dues, [redacted] suggested that "the other group" be brought into "our" group.

[redacted] immediately responded by asking, "You mean [redacted] and the others?" When [redacted] answered in the affirmative, [redacted] stated, "They come in - I go out!"

Following a discussion on this point, [redacted] spoke up X (U)

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~  
and stated, "Well, we can't forget that [redacted] of  
the Party on Staten Island, and recognized as such!" ~~SECRET~~

(U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-93]  
February 25, 1963] ~~SECRET~~ (U)

On March 1 1964, a CPUSA meeting was held at the  
home of [redacted] on Staten Island, New York. During  
the course of the meeting, conversation turned to [redacted]  
[redacted] and those in attendance "really ripped him apart."  
He was severely criticized for taking part in an S.I. CORE  
school boycott on Staten Island wherein he answered  
questions put to him by a reporter. [redacted] said that  
he and [redacted] belong to S.I. CORE but that they  
stayed in the background. [redacted] stated that [redacted]  
[redacted] has had a "lot of trouble" with [redacted]  
and his active part in S.I. CORE. ~~SECRET~~

(U)

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b7C

[NY T-93]  
March 2, 1964] ~~SECRET~~ (U)

At the present time, as far as informant knows, there  
is only one CPUSA group operating on Staten Island, New York.  
This is the "Industrial" type group headed by [redacted]  
and whose members work in some industry or in some trade. ~~SECRET~~

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(U)

Informant believes, although he cannot say definitely,  
that [redacted] go to CPUSA meetings in New  
York City or "somewhere outside of Staten Island" and that in  
addition to the [redacted] the only other person he thinks  
might attend the same meetings as the [redacted] is [redacted]  
[redacted] Informant reached this  
opinion based on comments [redacted] has made concerning  
[redacted] CPUSA activity. ~~SECRET~~

(U)

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] are no longer friendly with the [redacted] and if they are active CPUSA members, belong to "some" CPUSA unit other than the one to which the [redacted] belong. (U)

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b7C

It is possible there is a CPUSA unit separate from the "Industrial" type group on Staten Island. That if this is so, informant thinks this unit has been established by the CPUSA as a separate unit set apart from the "Industrial" type group and this might be an explanation why [redacted] described [redacted] as the [redacted] of the CPUSA on Staten Island, New York, and recognized as such. (U)

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b7C

The informant cannot understand why the "Industrial" type group considered bringing [redacted] and possibly [redacted] into their group. Informant stated that it is informant's opinion that plans to bring the [redacted] into the "Industrial" type group have been discontinued because [redacted] would resign immediately if they were brought into the group, and because [redacted] in addition to his drinking habits, does not like to follow orders and tends to do things on his own regardless of the consequences. (U)

b6  
b7C

Concerning [redacted] activity in S.I. CORE, the informant has formed the opinion that while members of the "Industrial" group do not object to the [redacted] working in S.I. CORE, they feel that their work should be discreet and "behind the scenes." That is the reason members of the "Industrial" type group were so disturbed when [redacted] lead an S.I. CORE picket line in front of Public School Number 15 on Staten Island, New York, on May 21, 1964. This picket line demonstration was conducted by S.I. CORE due to alleged racial remarks made by a teacher of the school. (U)

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NY T-93  
June 17, 1964

(U)

- 469 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

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[redacted] New York CP District, in discussing the organizational set-up in the New York CP District stated there "is no CP at all on Staten Island." X (U)

NY T-59  
January 27, 1964 X (U)

CPUSA INTEREST IN GENERAL

At the fourth day's session on June 19, 1963, of the National Youth Conference, CPUSA, which was held in New York City, from June 16-June 19, 1963, [redacted] stated that in order to accomplish the objectives of the CPUSA Youth which are: 1) unite youth against monopoly enslavement, (2) build alliances between youth movements and the working class and (3) examining the issues, organization forms and the channels they take in order to establish Negro-white unity.

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b7C

As to number 3, he listed the issues as peace, Negro rights, civil rights and job security and he stated to develop mass movements around these issues we must approach mass movements through: (1) mass organization such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), CORE; (2) labor unions; (3) "left organizations" and (4) the Party and its public voice.

[redacted] NY T-176 and NY T- 177 X (U)  
June 19, 1963

[redacted] was [redacted]  
[redacted] CPUSA, at that time.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] NY T-25  
October 11, 1963 X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On July 11, 1963, at the Central Plaza Annex, New York City, a CPUSA sponsored affair was held. During the course of this gathering of approximately 400 CPUSA members, WILLIAM ALBERTSON who was chairman of the meeting, announced that the "Congress of Racial Equality" was holding a demonstration on July 12, 1963, at Allerton Avenue and Boston Post Road in the Bronx, New York, at 10:30 a.m. ALBERTSON urged all who were present at the affair to try to attend this demonstration.

[NY T- 59  
July 12, 1963] X (U)

WILLIAM ALBERTSON was the Executive Secretary of the New York District CP, as of October, 1963. \*

(U)

[NY T-5  
October 13, 1963] X (U)

"The Worker", July 7, 1964, published a statement of the New York CP District that ALBERTSON had been expelled from the Party.

At a meeting of the New York District Board, CP, which was held in New York City, on August 19, 1963, WILLIAM L. PATTERSON stated white people may join and work in such organizations as CORE and the NAACP and, therefore, Party members could join the two organizations and attempt to recruit CPUSA members from these organizations once they had become active in CORE and the NAACP. \*

[NY T- 4  
August 21, 1963] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

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On September 13, 1963, an unidentified individual contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS at CPUSA headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, for DAVIS' assistance in a case in Georgia involving a youth who was being charged with insurrection. DAVIS, who advised he would help, wanted to send a "wire" to the youth in jail, however, [redacted] a clerical employee at CPUSA headquarters, called CORE, who suggested if a "wire" was sent that it should be sent to the youth's lawyer rather than to the youth in jail. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

[NY T-1]  
September 13, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

As of August 30, 1963, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was the National Secretary, CPUSA. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T- 178]  
August 30, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

In April, 1964, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was elected a member of the Secretariat and the National Board of the CPUSA by members of the National Executive Board, CPUSA, at a meeting held in New York City in April, 1964. ~~S~~ (U)

[NY T- 19]  
April 9, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

It is noted that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS died on August 22, 1964, in Beth Israel Hospital, New York City.

[redacted] is a [redacted] at CPUSA headquarters. [redacted] is considered to be a functionary of the CPUSA.

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b7C

[redacted] a CPUSA member from September, 1959 to September 11, 1962 January 2, 1963

-472-  
~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the Forbes Club, Lower East Side Section, New York City, CP, which was held on September 24, 1963, DORETTA TARMON, a member of the club who is working in CORE, reported on CORE's shortcomings such as lack of discipline, people talking out of order and other "things of that nature". ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T- 13  
September 25, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

It is not known whether or not DORETTA TARMON was now working in CORE.

[NY T-13  
March 19, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

In October, 1963, a summary of the Tuesday's, October 1, 1963, session of the National Executive Committee (NEC), CPUSA, meeting which was held in New York City from October 1-6, 1963, was made available. ~~X~~ (U)

This summary reflected that during the course of the session, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS stated that our Party in the South must find a center around which to rally the progressive forces down there. This is necessary more than ever. The South will supply this country with new reserves for peace and progress. We must get into this struggle in the South now. It is true there are several obstacles in our way. We must, nevertheless, get in and help solve some of these problems; otherwise we will be set back for years. In the past, the Party was ahead of its time, but now we have not played the role in the Negro movement that we are capable of playing. We, therefore, need some kind of new left center that would unite the Negro people. We can provide personnel for this. We must do at least as much as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, CORE or the Negro writers. We have the ideological means. We must try to get into all these organizations. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-19  
October, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The CPUSA to my knowledge, never requested any CPUSA members to form or infiltrate CORE though CPUSA members are told to join mass organizations and CPUSA members have been urged to participate in CORE activities such as "sit-ins", picket lines, etc.

[NY T- 10]  
April 3, 1964] X (U)

Whenever CORE conducts public demonstrations, CPUSA members participate if possible. However, CORE makes every attempt to keep CPUSA members from being active in CORE. To my knowledge, there are no CPUSA instructions to infiltrate CORE.

[NY T- 36]  
April 6, 1964] X (U)

There is no evidence of any CPUSA direction on a national, state or local level to infiltrate CORE except the general "Party line" instructions to work with any and all mass organizations.

[NY T-36  
April 10, 1964] X (U)

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed [redacted] departing from 23 West 26th Street, New York, at 12:10 p.m. on April 20, 1964. He walked to Horn and Hardart at 31st Street and Broadway, New York, where he met [redacted] CORE. [redacted] and [redacted] walked to the Prince George Hotel, 14 East 28th Street, New York City, where they met with GUS HALL at 12:40 p.m. [redacted] and had lunch with him until 1:20 p.m. [redacted] continued to talk and eat after the departure of HALL. At 1:48 p.m. [redacted] parted.

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[redacted] After departing from the Prince George Hotel, travelled to 38 Park Row, New York City, where he entered Room 317, the premises of which is occupied by CORE.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

With respect to 23 West 26th Street, New York City, it is to be noted that this is the building in which the National and New York State offices of the CPUSA; the Editorial and office staff of "The Worker"; the Editorial Staff of "Political Affairs", a self-described theoretical organ of the CPUSA, are located.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, Chairman of the CP of Illinois, on June 18 1964 stated that he had met with [redacted] and that [redacted] is a CPUSA member. (U)

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b7C

[NY T-20  
June 18, 1964] X (U)

GUS HALL is the General Secretary, CPUSA. (U)

[NY T-45  
May 7, 1962] X (U)

[redacted] had represented the Queens, Bronx and Brooklyn Chapters of CORE at a meeting with Queens District Attorney FRANK D. O'CONNOR about a traffic "stall-in" at the World's Fair on April 22, 1964, the opening day of the Fair. O'CONNOR had obtained a court order against this "stall-in" and was urging the CORE leaders to call it "off". The article reflected that these leaders rejected O'CONNOR's plea.

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"Newsday", Nassau County daily newspaper, April 21, 1964

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[redacted] was a member of the Jefferson Section of the CPUSA in 1947. (U)

[NY T-156  
March 17, 1947] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On May 13, 1964, at a meeting of the Miscellaneous Industrial Section of the CPUSA held under the name of the "Writers Club" in Room BB, Central Plaza Annex, 40 East 7th Street, New York City, JAMES TORMEY stated that "we" should concentrate in the NAACP and the Negro American Labor Council (NALC) because we have good contacts in these organizations, however, it is difficult to penetrate the CORE or the Urban League because they have white leadership. TORMEY said that we must concentrate our efforts in mass organization work and in our unions and even though our number is small, each of us at this meeting should be able to move thousands of people. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-65  
May 15, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

JAMES TORMEY is a member of the National Committee, CPUSA. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-45  
May 7, 1962] ~~X~~ (U)

On June 14, 1964, at a meeting of the Trade Union Commission of the New York District, CP, which was held in Washington Heights, Manhattan, New York, ROBERT THOMPSON stated that it is the responsibility of members of the Trade Union Commission to increase the size of the NALC through the people in their unions. He mentioned that the Party is not strong in the NAACP or CORE. He stated that only if we can get Party people into these organizations will we be able to move them from the bottom. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-65  
June 16, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

By action of the New York District Board, New York District CP, on October 29, 1963. ROBERT THOMPSON was elected District Organizer of the New York CP District. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-4  
October 30, 1962] ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

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On June 24, 1964, the East Side Tenants Council held a meeting at 23 Second Avenue, New York City. At the meeting it was ascertained that [redacted] did not attend the meeting because he was "busy" with one of his functions in the CORE. X

[NY T- 168]  
July 1, 1964] X (U)

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On various dates from April 17, 1963 to May 29, 1963, [redacted] attended four meetings of the Executive Committee of Burning Issues at 80 Clinton Street, New York, New York. X

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[NY T-28, [redacted]  
previously described and NY T-  
Various dates from April 23  
to May 31, 1963]

(U)

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b7C

[redacted] attended a session of the Crown Heights Forum which was held at Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York, on October 20, 1963.

[NY T-14  
October 20, 1963]

(U) X

The Crown Heights Forum is sponsored by the Crown Heights Section of the Kings County CP, Brooklyn, New York, and is open to CPUSA members and non-members. X

(U)

[NY T- 12  
January 17, 1961] X

(U)

On June 29, 1964, at a CPUSA club meeting in Apartment number 2H, 65 Second Avenue, New York CIty, [redacted] stated he did not want to take "leadership" from Downtown Manhattan CORE because there were a "lot" of ultra leftists and members of Progressive Labor who were associated with Downtown Manhattan CORE. X

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(U)

[NY T- 32  
July 2, 1964] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On June 29, 1964, at a CPUSA club meeting at 65 Second Avenue, New York City, [redacted] stated he did not want to take "leadership" from Downtown Manhattan CORE when [redacted] said that "we" will help in any activity by the CORE or the NAACP but "we" cannot initiate it. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

[redacted] said there was a "lot" of ultra leftists and members of Progressive Labor in Downtown Manhattan CORE and Brooklyn CORE. ~~(U)~~

b6  
b7C

(U)

NY T- 33  
July 2, 1964 ~~(U)~~

[redacted] On July 14, 1964, sat a private concert held by [redacted] for the benefit of the new magazine, American Dialog. LORETTA TARMON stated that [redacted] was singing at the Long Island Arena on September 12, 1964, during a benefit for CORE and that she would have tickets for it. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

NY T- 33  
July 17, 1964 ~~(U)~~

(U)

On December 13, 1954, JOHN LAUTNER, a CPUSA member for over twenty years, who at the time of his expulsion from the CPUSA in January, 1950, was Chairman of the New York State CP Review Commission, advised that he knew [redacted] as a CPUSA member from 1947 to 1949.

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The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of April 5, 1961, page 3, reported that [redacted] who had been indicted in March, 1957, on ten counts of contempt for refusing to answer ten questions before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) about his political beliefs and associates, was sentenced on April 4, 1961, by

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

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Federal Judge THOMAS F. MURPHY in Federal Court, New York City (Southern District of New York) to a year on each of ten counts, sentences to run concurrently. According to the article, [redacted] remained free on \$2,000 bail pending appeal of his conviction.

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American Dialog is the successor to the cultural magazine "Mainstream".

A characterization of "Mainstream" is contained in the Appendix.

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[redacted] On July 14, 1964, at a concert given by [redacted] which was held at the Briar Hall Country Club in Ossining, New York, and which was sponsored by the American Dialog Magazine, DORETTA TARMON stated there will be a benefit for CORE at the Long Island Arena, Long Island, New York, on September 12, 1964. She said that [redacted] will sing there and that she will have tickets for it. ~~(U)~~

[NY T- 32  
July 17, 1964] ~~(U)~~

At a meeting of the East Side Tenants Council which was held on August 26, 1964, at 23 Second Avenue, New York City, [redacted] said that the cases of the "CORE kids" that were arrested at the World's Fair "stall-in" and on which she has been working, have been a victory as all of them have been "put over" under the Civil Rights Law. ~~(U)~~

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 33  
September 2, 1964] ~~(U)~~

[redacted] was described as the [redacted] of the Forbes Club, Lower Manhattan Area, CP, as of April 7, 1964. ~~(U)~~

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b7C

[NY T-13  
April 7, 1964] ~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the Forbes Club, Lower Manhattan Area, CP, whild was held at the home of DOROTHY TARMON, TARMON announced that on September 12, 1964, CORE is sponsoring a concert in Long Island and that tickets will be brought to the next meeting. (U)

[ NY T- 13  
August 31, 1964 ] X (U)

INFORMATION CONCERNING PICKET LINES,  
RALLIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

At 6:00 a.m. on June 13, 1963, pickets under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee for Equal Employment (JCEE) began to demonstrate at the site of the construction on Harlem Hospital, 135th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City.

The pickets included representatives from the SWP, the Urban League, CORE, the NALC, the Association of Catholic Trade Unions (ACTU), the Workers Defense League (WDL) and the NAACP.

The pickets, at the peak, numbered about 100. The purpose of the demonstration was to protest the alleged discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans being employed on the construction site by the American Federal of Labor (AFL) Building Trades Council.

The demonstration was concluded at 3:15 p.m. and there were no incidents during the demonstration.

NYCPD:we NY-13-1, 4-143.  
June 13, 1963

- 480 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Beginning on Tuesday, June 18, 1963, the Brooklyn Chapter of CORE organized a sit-in at the office of the State Commission for Human Rights, 270 Broadway, New York, New York.

This sit-in, which is still in progress, has as its purpose the forcing of action to change New York City's high school zoning system. It stemmed from the refusal of the New York City Board of Education to permit two Negro children in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn to attend academic high schools other than John Jay High School which is zoned for the area.

The participants of this sit-in number about 14 at any one time, but the personnel has changed several times since the sit-in began.

The names of the participants are not known other than those identified in the newspapers.

Articles concerning this sit-in have appeared in the following New York daily newspapers:

New York "Daily News", June 20, 1963, page 40, column 3  
New York "World Telegram and Sun," June 19, 1963  
7th Sports Edition

These articles identified [redacted]

[redacted] as leaders of this sit-in.

b6  
b7C

This entire sit-in has been peaceful and there has been no acts of violence.

Detective [redacted]  
June 20, 1963

[redacted] was a member of the International Workers Order (IWO) Lodge 817 as of March, 1952.

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 91  
April, 1952] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

The IWO has been designated pursuant to  
Executive Order 10450.

At a meeting of the Eleventh Assembly District Club of the Harlem Region of the CP held on July 5, 1963, [redacted] reported on a mass demonstration in the afternoon of July 5, 1963, by a chapter of National CORE which was held on housing in the area of 126th, 127, 128th and 129th Streets, between Fifth and Lenox Avenues from 3:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. [redacted] said he was invited by this chapter of CORE to participate which he did by first carrying a picket sign. However, when it was ascertained that he was well known in the area, he was asked to speak through the sound equipment about the poor housing conditions in the area, which he did. (U)

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b7C

[NY T-10]  
July 9, 1963] X (U)

On July 12, 1963, a bowling party by former members or members of Burning Issues was held in New York City. During the course of the party, [redacted] suggested that those present should support picket lines and rallies, including the CORE picket line at the White Castle diner in the Bronx, New York. Those present decided to join the picket line on July 13, 1963, from 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] previously  
described  
July 15, 1963

At a meeting of Burning Issues which was held at 789 East 144th Street, Bronx, New York, on July 14, 1963, where most of the conversation concerned the "breakup" of Burning Issues, it was decided that inasmuch as there were so few individuals remaining that the few remaining should participate in demonstrations and picketing as was done when some of the individuals from Burning Issues participated in the CORE picket line, at the White Castle diner in the Bronx, New York. (U)

(U)

[NY T-179]  
July 18, 1963] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

During the evening of April 20, 1964, [redacted] [redacted] who works with Uptown Manhattan CORE, told [redacted] of a "surprise plan" by the Manhattan and Bronx Chapters of CORE to have three automobiles enter the Queens Midtown Tunnel, New York, on April 22, 1964, exact time unknown, where they will deflate their tires by sticking them with ice picks. Following the cars into the tunnel will be approximately six hundred individuals on foot, and together with the cars, will cause the tunnel (U) to be blocked. X

b6  
b7C

It is not known if Downtown Manhattan CORE will participate, however, members of this chapter will be free to take part if they wish. X

(U)

[redacted]  
NY T-33  
April 21, 1964]

(U)

[redacted] advised Special Agents of the FBI that he joined the CPUSA in the latter part of 1949, or the early part of 1950 and that he remained a member until sometime in 1952.

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b7C

Interview of [redacted]  
November 10, 1954

b6  
b7C

On November 16, 1963, [redacted] attended an affair which was held for JOE NORTH at the home of DORETTA TARMON. The affair ostensibly was sponsored by the "Friends of Joe North" but was actually sponsored by the Forbes Club, Lower Manhattan Area, (U) CP. X

[redacted]  
NY T-13  
November 22, 1963]

(U)

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

JOE NORTH is listed as a member of the Editorial Staff of "The Worker".

July 14, 1964 issue of  
"The Worker"

On April 22, 1964, at a meeting of the East Side Tenants Council, 23 Second Avenue, New York City, [redacted] stated he was almost "locked up" during the day while he was in the CORE picket line at the Missouri Pavilion at the World's Fair. ~~\*~~

b6  
b7C

(U)

[redacted] stated he participated in the CORE "stall-in" which was conducted on the parkway leading to the World's Fair on April 22, 1964. ~~\*~~ (U)

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b7C

[NY T-33  
April 28, 1964] ~~\*~~ (U)

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~  
On May 26, 1964, one of the local New York City civil rights groups was picketing City Hall, New York.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] was among those picketing. After the picketing, [redacted] stated that he had joined Downtown Manhattan CORE which is located on Delancey Street, New York City. X

[NY T-41  
June 2, 1964] X (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] attended a rally, which was held in Union Square, New York, New York, on May 1, 1963, which rally was sponsored by the 1963 Union Square May Day Committee. X (U)

[NY T-41, NY T-42  
May 8, 1963] X (U)

A characterization of the 1963 Union Square May Day Committee is contained in the appendix section of this report.

On August 25, 1964, a bus ride to Atlantic City, New Jersey, which was sponsored by Downtown Manhattan CORE, departed from Delancey Street, New York, and arrived in Atlantic City at 6:00 p.m. X

From 7:00 p.m. to 11:15 p.m., the group participated in a silent demonstration. This demonstration of approximately five hundred people was conducted across the street from the entrance to Convention Hall, Atlantic City, New Jersey. X (U)

The following individuals were recognized as participants in the silent demonstration during the period 7:00 p.m. to 11:15 p.m.:  
[redacted] X (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-35  
August 26, 1964] X (U)

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the Executive Committee  
of the Bedford Stuyvesant Section of the  
CPUSA, which was held on February 19, 1959,  
at Brooklyn, New York, it was stated that  
[redacted] was not going to rerégister (U)  
in the CPUSA for 1959. \*

b6  
b7C

[NY T-4  
February 24, 1959]

(U)

On June 29, 1961, [redacted] attended  
a street meeting which was sponsored by  
the KCCP, in Brooklyn, New York. \*

b6  
b7C

[NY T-71  
July 5, 1961]

(U)

[redacted] attended a KCCP Committee  
meeting which was held at 1110 Eastern  
Parkway, Brooklyn, New York, on November  
15, 1963. \*

b6  
b7C

[NY T-4  
November 15, 1963]

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

b6  
b7C

C. Freedom Now Party

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] and CONRAD LYNN were among those present at the dinner for the formation of the "Freedom Now Party" (FNP) held on August 28, 1963, at the Madison Room, Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. The Freedom Now Party is an all Negro Political Party formed with CONRAD LYNN as Acting President of the National Committee (U) of FNP. ✓

[NY T-37]  
August 29, 1964] ✓  
(U)

CONRAD J. LYNN

"The Journal News", a newspaper published in Nyack, New York, dated Wednesday, May 8, 1963, contained an article concerning CONRAD J. LYNN, who had appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), on Monday about his trip to Cuba in 1962, which he had made in order to take a deposition from a client who had fled from this country. The article stated that at the hearing, LYNN said that he had been a member of the Young Communist League from 1928 to 1931, and had been a member of the Communist Party from 1934 to 1937, when he was expelled because of his stand during the Trinidad Oil Workers Strike of February, 1937, which he said went against the Communist Party line. LYNN characterized himself as being "on the left".

"The Journal News"  
May 8, 1963

The Young Communist League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

On April 14, 1964, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) sponsored a Conference on "the struggle of Civil Rights and the Erosion of Civil Liberties", in the Colonial Room, Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Sixth Avenue, New York City.

[redacted] was a speaker at this meeting.

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-193  
April 14, 1964] & (U)

A characterization of the ECLC is contained in the Appendix Section of this report.

[redacted] is the real leader of the FNP and apparently bears the administrative responsibilities but he does not hold any post in FNP publicity. There is a group in the FNP which is Anti-SWP, and has been pressuring [redacted] and CONRAD LYNN, so far without success, to exclude members of the SWP.

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b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-214  
October 25, 1963] & (U)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On August 24, 1963, a street meeting of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was held in Brooklyn, New York. [redacted], a member of the National Committee (NC) of the SWP said that the SWP helped form the all-Negro Freedom Now Party as proposed by CONRAD LYNN, a long-time associate and sympathizer of the SWP. [redacted] said that, of course, the Negro comrades of the SWP will be a part of the Party and will influence its direction, but there would also be other forces.

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b7C

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] a Negro member of the SWP was to participate in the FNP as a member. [redacted] said that the plan of the SWP was to try to throw as many as possible of its Negro cadres in the FNP to turn the FNP as far left as possible and eventually use it as the big opening to the "radicalizing Negro masses." X (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted]  
NY T-147  
September 3, 1963 X (U)

On August 23, 1963, [redacted] who was at that time running for Councilman-At-Large in Brooklyn, New York, as a candidate of the FNP said that the FNP was a SWP sponsored organization. [redacted] was at the National Office of the SWP when he made the statement.

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[redacted]  
NY T-169  
September 27, 1963 X (U)

[redacted] whose true name is [redacted]  
[redacted] is publicly campaigning under his true name, as a SWP candidate for President of the United States in the 1964 elections.

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

D. Harlem Community Council on Housing  
also known as Community Council on Housing

Location

The 1964-1965 New York City Telephone Directory (Manhattan) contains a listing for the Community Council on Housing (CCH) at 6 East 117th Street: Telephone FI 8-9100.

Leadership

The "New York Times", a New York City daily newspaper, dated December 31, 1963, page 32, contains an article entitled, "Harlem Slum Fighter - JESSE GRAY". This article reports that JESSE GRAY is the head of the Community Council on Housing; is the only paid member, and draws \$75.00 per week. The CCH has approximately 2,000 members, of which only 400 are able to pay the monthly dues of one dollar.

On September 1, 1964, JESSE GRAY passed out handbills at 125th Street and 7th Avenue, New York City. One of these handbills was captioned, "The Tenant News", and revealed that it was issued by the CCH and listed JESSE GRAY as its Director.

[NY T- 231]  
September 2, 1964] ✓ (U)

JESSE GRAY

JESSE GRAY has been the organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party (CP), but his job terminated during November, 1958.

[NY T- 10]  
November 20, 1958] ✓ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

According to WILLIAM L. PATTERSON,  
Chairman of the New York District, CP,  
JESSE GRAY is no longer a member of the (U)  
CP, but is friendly to the CP. ~~X~~

[NY T-4  
January 24, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

Harlem Riots (July, 1964)

On July 19, 1964, a representative from JESSE GRAY's office attempted to contact [redacted] to ask him to get some people to come to a mass protest rally to be held at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church in New York City at 4:00 p.m. on July 19, 1964. The purpose of this rally was to protest police brutality and the rioting which took place in Harlem the previous night. ~~X~~ (U)

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b7C

[NY T-232  
July 19, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

During July, 1962, [redacted] was considered by the CP to be a member of its (U) National Committee. ~~X~~

[NY T-45  
July, 1962] ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

The "New York Sunday News", a New York City newspaper, issue of August 2, 1964, page 5, contains an article captioned, "Army of Toughs Camp in W. 80's in Riots". This article reports that an army of 200 "toughs", believed to be part of a group known to local police as the "White Shirts", were spotted in the forefront of the Harlem rioting. They were also spotted at the inflammatory rally that Harlem rent strike leader, JESSE GRAY, masterminded at the Mount Morris Presbyterian Church in Harlem. The article further reports that it was at this rally that JESSE GRAY called for 100 men willing to die in the crusade against so-called police brutality.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

"New York Times", issue of July 30, 1964, page 12, contains an article captioned, "Gray Denies Role in Inciting Riots". This article reports that a stay against demonstrations in Harlem by JESSE GRAY and the CCH was continued in New York Supreme Court despite denials by GRAY that he had instigated any of the present disorders. The article reports that GRAY testified that after the July 19, 1964, Church rally in which he called for "100 men ready to die for freedom", he went home and spent the second night of the Harlem rioting "trying to finish a document on European history". GRAY further explained that his statement regarding "100 men" was not aimed at guerilla warfare in Harlem or elsewhere, but that he was simply seeking a trained community organization for better schools, housing, jobs, and against police brutality.

The "New York Times", issue of July 21, 1964, page 22, in an article describing the racial violence in New York City, reported that JESSE GRAY, on July 20, 1964, called a rally to be held at the United Nations Building in New York City on this date to protest police brutality.

On July 20, 1964, a demonstration was held at the United Nations Building in New York City to protest police brutality. This was a spontaneous demonstration called by no special organization; however, JESSE GRAY was among the speakers at the rally.

NY T-32  
July 30, 1964

NY T-33  
July 30, 1964

X (U)

On July 31, 1964, a Militant Labor Forum was held at the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), 116 University Place, New York City, to "protest police terrorism in Harlem". This rally was attended by approximately 200 individuals, and featured various Negro speakers, including [redacted] from CCH. [redacted] during his talk, stated that rioting should and would continue in regard to Negro

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b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

development; that looting is to be condoned as a mark of the oppressed Negro race reacting to their oppressors; that the "Big Six" Negro leaders are not representatives of the Negro people; and, that he had previously asked for 100 men who were willing to die for the Negro race.

[NY T-228]  
August 1, 1964] X (U)

A characterization of the Militant Labor Forum is set forth in the Appendix.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On September 1, 1964, JESSE GRAY passed out handbills at 125th Street and 7th Avenue, in New York City. One of these handbills, issued by the CCH, was captioned, "Tenant News", and bore the heading "Powell's Murderer Set Free". The handbill announced that as a result of the Grand Jury refusal to indict the murderer of JAMES POWELL, all Harlem is alarmed and angry at the injustice; that Mayor WAGNER must be told to find a way to reopen the case so justice can be done. The handbill concludes by noting that as a result of the Grand Jury decision, "Any white policeman who wants to kill a Negro will not have to worry about being tried for murder".

[NY T-231]  
September 2, 1964] X (U)

#### New York School Boycott

The "New York Times", issue of March 16, 1964, page 1, contains an article captioned, "Galamison Sees Boycott Success". This article reports that the Reverend MILTON A. GALAMISON, a civil rights leader in New York City, stated that through the intervention of the militant CCH, he received the unsolicited support for the boycott from MALCOLM X. The article also reports that MALCOLM X addressed a rally at the Milbank Center, 32 West 118th Street, New York City, at the invitation of JESSE GRAY, at which time GRAY

~~SECRET~~  
- 493 - ~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

stated that the rally had been called to "work up support for the boycott".

A characterization of MALCOLM X is included in the characterization of the Muslin Mosque, Incorporated set forth in the Appendix Section.

New York World's Fair Stall-In

"The New York Times", issue of April 21, 1964, contains an article captioned, "Stall-In Leaders Defy Plea to Bar Tie-Up Tomorrow". This article reports that civil rights leaders went ahead with plans to conduct a massive traffic stall-in at the opening of the World's Fair in New York despite a court order barring such demonstrations. The article further notes that JESSE GRAY and members of the CCH were among those listed in this court order.

Miscellaneous

During an enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP held in New York City on December 21, 1963, GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, stated that JESSE GRAY is leading the tenant councils in Harlem in their strikes against landlords who maintain slum houses and that this is having a definite impact on the entire racial struggle. ~~✓~~ (U)

[NY T-19  
During December, 1963] ~~✓~~ (U)

Policy Re CP Membership in CCH

There has been no indication or statement by the CCH that CP members will be admitted to or barred from membership in this organization.

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E. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT  
OF COLORED PEOPLE

The investigation concerning the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is predicated upon information received that members of the Communist Party (CP) have infiltrated this organization. Our investigation is directed solely toward establishing the extent and the result of this infiltration. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is not investigating the legitimate activities of the NAACP.

NATIONAL SECTION

Address

The current Manhattan Telephone Directory reflects that the address for the National Office of the NAACP continues to be 20 West 40th Street, New York City.

Membership

"The Crisis," official organ of the NAACP, issue of February, 1964, contains information concerning NAACP highlights for the year 1963. The following is an excerpt from the article:

"Our Executive Secretary, Roy Wilkins, reported to the annual meeting, January 6, that paid memberships shot past the half-million mark for the first time in our history. The most astonishing gains were made in youth memberships, which were increased by a whopping 47 percent over 1962.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

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"Complete tabulations were not in at press time; however, as of December 24, Mr. Wilkins reported the membership figures to be 426,361 adult members of branches, 55,867 youth members, 10,562 life members and 8,026 members-at-large. This comes to a grand total of 515,396."

Policy Concerning Communism

The NAACP at its national conventions since 1950, has passed resolutions rejecting Communism and prohibiting Communists from holding office or membership in the NAACP.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ROY WILKINS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

NORMAN COUSINS

[REDACTED]

Professor S. RALPH HARLOW

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

President

[REDACTED]

Executive Secretary

[REDACTED]

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD TAYLOR



~~SECRET~~

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH



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NY T-238  
June 1, 1964

(U)

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN

The March 18, 1945 edition of "The Worker", contained an article concerning the War Department's order that Communists and alleged Communists were eligible for Army commissions. This article contained a statement which had been circulated by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and which supported the commissioning of Communists and alleged Communists. Among the signers to this statement, according to "The Worker" article, was ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, President of the NAACP.

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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NY 100-153735

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A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the names ARTHUR B. SPINGARN and ARTHUR BARNETT SPINGARN on April 21, 1958, by Special Employee [redacted] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

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An undated leaflet, "...the only sound policy for a Democracy" lists one ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, President, NAACP, as a signer of a statement supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions...to members of the armed forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the CP. Statement was sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The pamphlet, "For a New Africa," Page 37, on April 14, 1944, lists one ARTHUR B. SPINGARN as a conference participant at the Council on African Affairs.

The Council on African Affairs has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[redacted]  
b6  
b7C

The May 1, 1946 issue of the "New London Day", a daily newspaper, New London, Connecticut, reflected that ALFRED BAKER LEWIS was State Chairman of the Connecticut Citizens Political Action Committee as of that time.

The Connecticut Citizens Political Action Committee is characterized in the Appendix.

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NY 100-153735

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The May 26, 1946 issue of the "Bridgeport Herald", a daily newspaper, Bridgeport, Connecticut, reflected that ALFRED BAKER LEWIS of Greenwich, Connecticut, was elected Treasurer of the Connecticut Citizens Political Action Committee on May 25, 1946.

The September 9, 1949 issue of the "Hartford Times", contained an article by ALFRED BAKER LEWIS which stated, "Those of us who are opposed to Communism should bend every effort to keep the Communists out in the open, not to suppress them by law or by force. They should be opposed politically, by showing how their support of truly liberal causes always harms such causes, and that their only real purpose is to advance the interests of Soviet Russia and defend her dictatorship and her acts of aggression. To try to suppress the Communists would merely drive them underground or into various camouflaged organizations and would harm, not help, the task of opposing their ideas".

[redacted]  
[redacted] as of December, 1947,  
was [redacted] of the Philadelphia Chapter of  
the National Negro Congress.

[NY T-239  
April 21, 1952]

(U)

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The National Negro Congress has  
been designated pursuant to  
Executive Order 10450.

Source furnished information reflecting that [redacted]  
was a sponsor of the National Federation for  
Constitutional Liberties.

[NY T-240  
January 17, 1943]

(U)

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~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] was present at a rally held at the Faith Hope Tabernacle Church, 1728 West Montgomery Avenue, Philadelphia, on February 12, 1956. According to the informant, the purpose of this rally was to aid indigent and oppressed Negroes in the South.

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b7C

[redacted] of the Philadelphia Chapter of the NAACP, represented this organization and was the first speaker. [redacted] devoted most of his time to a criticism of the Communist Party. He stated that the NAACP had led the fight against the Communist Party, both nationally and locally, and that they intended to continue this fight.

NY T-25  
March 14, 1956 X (U)

[redacted] who had been [redacted] of the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP since 1951, will not seek re-election in 1960 due to ill health. Source said he considered [redacted] to be a loyal American, who is dedicated to the cause of the advancement of the American Negro. He stated that [redacted] is strongly anti-Communist, yet liberal on his outlook in social problems.

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b7C

NY T-241  
November 19, 1959 X (U)

[redacted]  
On September 12, 1960, [redacted] of the Supreme Court of the United States, furnished information to SA [redacted] which revealed that [redacted]  
[redacted] New York, New York, was one of the signers of a brief for [redacted] filed September 9, 1960, in the case Communist Party (CP) of the United States, Petitioner vs. Subversive Activities Control Board, Respondent.

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NY 100-153735

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The December 10, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker", a former East Coast Communist newspaper, Page 4, reflects that BLACK signed an appeal to President TRUMAN regarding amnesty for leaders of the CP who were convicted under the Smith Act.

[redacted]

Source advised he had learned that during a December 26, 1961, discussion between CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a leading functionary of the CP of Illinois, and [redacted] LIGHTFOOT indicated that at the time of his, LIGHTFOOT's, arrest, [redacted] had offered to put up personal property in order that LIGHTFOOT could make bond. X (U)

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[redacted] In discussing the NAACP with LIGHTFOOT, said it was his opinion that the decline in NAACP membership was due to the move toward the "right" on the part of the leadership of the NAACP. X (U)

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b7C

NY T-180  
January 2, 1962

[redacted]

X (U)

The Souvenir Journal of the Fourth Annual Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held March 2 and 3, 1940, Washington, D. C., lists [redacted] as an endorser for the Fourth Annual Conference.

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The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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HERBERT PHILBRICK, an admitted former member of the CP, USA in Boston, Massachusetts from 1944 - 1949, advised on April 2, 1953, that the present status of [redacted] is a question. PHILBRICK stated that there was not a doubt, from the publicly available records, that [redacted] some years ago and for a period of years was a great help to the CP. According to PHILBRICK, most of this assistance was during the period of time when [redacted] was one of the [redacted] of the [redacted] the first big fund tapped by the CP. PHILBRICK continued, however, that the conduct of [redacted] in the past five or six years seems to be exemplary.

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b7C

[redacted]  
Source advised that [redacted] was the [redacted] noted corporation lawyer and a millionaire by inheritance. The source stated that in 1943, [redacted] a member of the Secret Conspiratorial Fund Committee, advised the source that [redacted] was under Communist discipline. [redacted] had persuaded [redacted] to become a large financial supporter of Cafe society night clubs being run at the initiative of the CP. Source also advised that [redacted] was a heavy contributor to other pro-Communist causes. As late as 1944, or thereabout, the source learned officially from a high-level CP official that [redacted] was working in cooperation with the CP.

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NY T- 242  
June 30, 1950  
(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] New York New York advised Special Agents [redacted] on

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b7C

September 16, 1957, that in the past he was known to be very "liberal and progressive". He stated that since he was in his early twenties, he has fought for the advancement of the Negro race. He stated that he was not then and never was a member of the CP and was not in sympathy with the Communist cause.

Professor S. RALPH HARLOW

The 1952-1953 edition of "Who's Who in America" set out information identifying S. RALPH HARLOW as a member of the Academic Council, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Source identified S. RALPH HARLOW, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, as a Board member, Council for Pan American Democracy as of March, 1945. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-233  
April 1, 1957

~~X~~ (U)

The Council for Pan American Democracy has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

DR. WILLIAM LLOYD IMES

"New Africa" issue of October, 1945, described as the official organ of the Council on African Affairs, lists WILLIAM L. IMES, President, Knoxville College, as endorsing an unexplained six point program of the Council on African Affairs.

The indices and the printed hearings of the Committee of Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., reflect the following references on Dr. WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, also referred to as Reverend WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, Reverend WILLIAM M. LLOYD IMES, W. LLOYD IMES, and WILLIAM LLOYD IMES.

The "Daily Worker" on April 6, 1937, page 5, reflected that one (Rev) WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, Pastor, St. James Presbyterian Church, was Guest of Honor at a dinner, April 6, 1937, Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West 73rd Street, New York City, sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism.

The American League Against War and Fascism has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" on February 3, 1936, page 2, reflected that one WILLIAM LLOYD IMES, New York City, was a supporter of the National Negro Congress.

[redacted]  
Source furnished a membership list of the National Lawyers Guild, which included the name of [redacted] Tennessee.

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NY T- 243  
June 20, 1956 ] X (U)

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NY 100-153735

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[redacted]

The May 3, 1946 issue of the "Daily Worker" on page 14, carried an article entitled "Civil Rights Congress Drives to Abolish Rankin Group". According to this article, Dr. BENJAMIN MAYS, President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, was made honorary co-chairman of the newly formed Civil Rights Congress with headquarters at 205 East 42nd Street, New York, New York. This organization, which was to absorb such organizations as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and the International Labor Defense, stated as its purpose the abolition of the Wood-Rankin Un-American Activities Committee, the establishment of a permanent FEPC and the defeat of the Case Bill.

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The Civil Rights Congress has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The May 31, 1947, issue of the "Daily Worker" listed BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President of Morehouse College, as one of the official observers and consultants of the First National Convention of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, which was held at the Fraternal Club House, 110 West 48th Street, New York City, on May 30, 31 and June 1, 1947.

The United Negro and Allied Veterans of America has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

According to the "Report on Southern Conference for Human Welfare", published by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 80th Congress, First Session, pursuant to Public Law 601,

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in June, 1947, BENJAMIN MAYS, member of the Nominating Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare from 1947 to 1948, was listed in a chart showing his connections with the Communist front organizations or Communist activities. He was listed in this Report as having made statements defending the CP on March 18, 1945, and April 27, 1947; as having come to the defense of individual Communists (Bridges); and as having connections with a pro-Soviet relief or propaganda organization, namely, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is characterized in the Appendix hereto.

[redacted]  
[redacted] was interviewed at his law office,  
then located at [redacted] Los Angeles, hw  
Special Agents [redacted]

[redacted]  
on February 20, 1952. He stated he had long been active in the fight against racial discrimination and had attended meetings in the civil rights field at which Communists were present in the early 1930's. He said that during this period he had been affiliated with the International Labor Defense (ILD); that he had gone to Russia in the early 1930's with a group of Negroes to make a film, but that the idea was eventually rejected by the Russian Government.

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He said that the motive of those who went was simply the making of a film and that their interests were not political. After returning from Russia, he worked in New York for a while and then returned to Los Angeles to practice law, at which time he became active in the National Negro Congress and was

[redacted] of that organization in Los Angeles about 1938. He said that during this period he was undoubtedly a member of other organizations sponsored by the Communists. He said he had also become a member of the National Lawyers Guild primarily because this was the only bar association which would accept Negroes at the time.

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[redacted] said he had never been a member of the CP, primarily because he did not want to submit to their complete discipline. He said efforts had been made to recruit him into the CP, but he had resisted such efforts.

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He described himself at the time of interview as being anti-Communist. He said that he had a great interest in seeing that Negroes achieve complete equality and integration with all other American citizens.

The ILD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

L. [redacted]

The February 3, 1941, issue of the "Cleveland Plain Dealer", a local Cleveland, Ohio, daily newspaper carried an article captioned "Unite in Behalf of Foreign Born". This article listed Miss L. PEARL MITCHELL as one of the persons elected as a State Director of the Ohio Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. This article stated that the

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American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born was the "parent body" of the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

A characterization of the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is set forth in the Appendix.

The September 30, 1944, issue of the "Cleveland Gazette", a now defunct Cleveland, Ohio, Negro newspaper, carried an article entitled "Ohio School of Social Science will Hear Judge PERRY B. JACKSON Lecture". This article indicated that a course in Negro History was being included in the above school and stated that PEARL MITCHELL would be one of the persons taking part in the lectures and panel discussions of the Negro History course.

The Ohio School of Social Science has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[Redacted]

The "Daily Worker" of August 21, 1949, Section 1, page 2, column 4, contained an announcement of a rally to spur the fight against the arms aid bill at the City Center on August 23, 1949, sponsored by the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Bishop WILLIAM J. WALLS of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was included among the speakers.

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A characterization of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions is included in the attached Appendix pages.

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The "Daily Worker" of December 10, 1952, page 4, columns 2, 3, and 4 carried an article entitled, "280 National Leaders Ask Truman Amnesty Jailed Communists," and stated that the amnesty appeal was initiated by a group of individuals, one of whom was Bishop W. J. WALLS.

A name check of the indices and/or printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the name [redacted] on May 27, 1958, by Special Employee [redacted] reflected the following references which were not checked against the original source:

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The "Daily Worker" on November 2, 1955, page 4, reflected that one (Bishop) W. J. WALLS was a sponsor of the 23rd National Conference, sponsored by American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, to be held in Detroit, December 10-11, 1955.

Hearings, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, First Session, Testimony of Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM on July 21, 1953, reflected on page 3609 that one [redacted] [redacted] was a sponsor of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, Incorporated.

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A name check of the indices and/or the printed hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 2, 1963, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] concerning [redacted] contained the following reference which was not checked against the original source:

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[redacted] during November, 1961, was listed as a signer of a petition addressed to the President of the United States concerning a clemency appeal for CARL BRADEN.

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Mrs. ALBERTA AHEARN, 2311 Payne Street, Louisville, Kentucky, a self-admitted member of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, from January, 1951, to December, 1954, testified in Jefferson County, Kentucky, Circuit Court, Louisville, on December 11 and 13, 1954, that she had known CARL BRADEN as a leading member of the CP, Louisville, Kentucky, during the period of her membership.

[redacted]

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Furnished a pamphlet entitled, "Southern Negro Youth Congress Summons You to Act." This pamphlet announced that an emergency conference of the organization would be held at the Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta, Georgia. The pamphlet contained a list of sponsors among which contained the name [redacted] Attorney-at-Law, Atlanta, Georgia.

[NY T-244  
March 5, 1947]

(U)

The Southern Negro Youth Congress has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Communist Attempts to Infiltrate

A meeting of the CP Caucus within the NAACP and members of the CP, USA National Negro Commission was held during March, 1963, in New York City for the purpose of formulating CP strategy within the NAACP. X

(U)

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BENJAMIN J. DAVIS gave the main report on how full citizenship for the Negro could be obtained and urged that a national convention or conference be held which would bring together all Negro organizations. DAVIS also stated that legal victories by the NAACP have been most decisive in the Negro liberation struggle and the potential for further victories is by no means exhausted. The branch of government that has been most sensitive to the problems of the Negro people has been the Judiciary. Therefore, it has been through the courts that the most significant strides have been made in the Negro liberation struggle.

(U)

DAVIS stated that a time limit must be put on the Jim Crow System in the United States. The Supreme Court's formula of all deliberate speed as enunciated in the 1954 decision has just not worked. DAVIS offered the following proposals as possible resolutions at the 1963 NAACP National Convention;

(U)

1. That the NAACP go back to the Supreme Court and ask for a more specific deadline.

(U)

2. A resolution asking President KENNEDY for his plan to enforce the Supreme Court's decision.

(U)

3. A resolution that would ask for a test of Article IV, Section 4, of the United States Constitution, which guarantees a republican form of government, and particularly pointing out Southern states where the Negro is denied the right to vote.

(U)

4. That the second section of the 14th Amendment be enforced which calls for a reduction of representation in states where the franchise to vote is denied.

(U)

5. That the Federal Government financially starve any state that sanctions discrimination.

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[NY T-98  
March, 1963]

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The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) convention was held in New York City July 18-21, 1963. A resolution on the "Negro Question" was adopted. This resolution points out the trend of Negroes today to insist not on gradual granting of full equality but rather the sharp and massive demands for immediate and full equality. The resolution also describes the leading Negro groups which includes the NAACP.

The Party plan of action is one of "behind the scenes support". The Party does not plan to boost one group or trend over another but rather to support all groups until the Negro masses decide which type of group or plan of action is best.

[NY T-221  
August 2, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A meeting of the National CP Negro Commission was held on February 22, 1964, at 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois. At this meeting, BENJAMIN DAVIS of New York gave the main report. He stated that the Party will have to concern itself with the conventions of the Negro organizations such as the NAACP. In this connection, DAVIS stated that the NAACP was not prepared to take steps in projecting themselves into the main stream of the civil rights struggle. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-173  
February 22, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

On April 26, 1964, a CP Sub-committee meeting on the NAACP affairs, which was opened to some non-Party members, was held at the Chelsea Hotel in New York City. The purpose of this meeting was to formulate ~~X~~ (U)

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plans for the forthcoming NAACP Convention to be held in Washington, D. C. June 22-29, 1964, and to analyze the role of the CP in connection with the civil rights struggle of the NAACP. ~~X~~ (U)

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The meeting was opened by [redacted] who stated that the problems facing the Party today in connection with the civil rights struggle and the NAACP are twofold; namely, to plan on the tactics and program to be utilized in connection with the forthcoming NAACP Convention in Washington, D. C., and to evaluate the role of the NAACP in the current civil rights struggle. He pointed out that many people have taken negative attitudes toward the role of the NAACP indicating that they are not militant enough and are not taking a direct action approach to this civil rights struggle. At this time the floor was opened for viewpoints on the extent of the role of the NAACP in connection with the civil rights struggle and whether the Party should continue its work within the NAACP or should direct its activity to other organizations which are more militant in their approach to the civil rights problem. ~~X~~ (U)

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[redacted] stated that status must be maintained within the NAACP, but we must also seek ways of channelizing our activities elsewhere in the civil rights struggle. He stated that we must not abandon other civil rights organizations which are active in the civil rights struggle. ~~X~~ (U)

[redacted] stated that we owe leadership to the membership of the NAACP. She pointed out that the current leadership is not the organization but we must continue to give leadership to the membership of the NAACP. She stated that ~~X~~ (U)

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generally speaking the current Negro leadership in the civil rights movement does not know where it is going. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON also stated that the leadership of the NAACP is not the NAACP itself. He stated that the struggle on the civil rights issue is not simple but there is no justification for abandoning the NAACP. He stated that there was never a greater need for Party people to be active in connection with the civil rights struggle of the NAACP. PATTERSON went on to state that the CP by abandoning the NAACP would not break up the NAACP but it would simply permit the current guiding forces to do as they wish in connection with the Negro problem. PATTERSON went on to state that we must continue our effort to bring about unity of the Negro people now. He pointed out various vehicles that could be used in furthering the civil rights struggle and mentioned specifically that we should use to advantage in connection with the civil rights struggle, the United Auto Workers civil rights resolution which links the plight of Negroes to the poverty struggle. PATTERSON also drew attention to the resolutions of an organization named, Women Strike for Peace, which links the Negro question to the struggle for peace. He stated that we must find ways of utilizing these resolutions at the National Convention in Washington to further the struggle for civil rights of the Negro people. ~~X~~ (U)

[redacted] stated that it would be a mistake to pull out of the NAACP. He stated, however, that the current NAACP leadership is scared and are not taking chances. He added this current leadership was pushed into a direct action program by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and they are now trying to retreat from this direct action approach. [redacted] also stated ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

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that he felt badly that he did not know earlier about this meeting as he may have been able to determine the national program planned for the convention in Washington, D. C., and this program could be used in formulating tactics at this convention. ~~X~~ (U)

[redacted] stated that she agreed with the remarks of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON and also added that we cannot consider pulling out of the NAACP. ~~X~~ (U)

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TED BASSETT pointed out that there have been many attempts to follow up the August 28, 1963, March on Washington by many forces, but ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary, NAACP, stepped in and prevented any further direct action programs. BASSETT then stated that the following items must be considered in connection with the NAACP convention. ~~X~~ (U)

1. Possibility of changing the leadership of the NAACP at the convention even though such leadership is not elected at the convention ~~X~~ (U)

2. Propose activity in conjunction with the civil rights bill now pending in Congress even though many Congressmen have stated that such activity or demonstrations will not influence their vote in connection with this matter. There must be demonstrative action in connection with this bill. ~~X~~ (U)

[redacted] stated that there is no format at the convention permitting change in the NAACP leadership, however, we should express sentiment to indicate that a change in leadership is necessary. ~~X~~ (U)

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[redacted] stated that he felt the national officers of the NAACP have retreated to the traditional role of striving for legal action as opposed to direct action in connection with the civil rights issue. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON emphasized the need of utilizing pronouncements by white individuals and organizations in advancement of the civil rights struggle. He stated that from numerous organizations and individuals, statements and resolutions have been proposed favoring the civil rights problem and we should hail these programs and call on organizations requesting them to fulfill their statements with action. ~~X~~ (U)

The following proposals were made as possible resolutions at the NAACP convention to be held in Washington, D. C. June 22 - 29, 1964: ~~X~~ (U)

1. Fight any attempt on the part of the National NAACP Office to reaffirm its role of legal action instead of direct action in connection with the civil rights struggle. Point out that to rely on court action is a retreat to gradualism. ~~X~~ (U)

2. Tackle the poverty question. Develop a program linking ghettos with the poverty program and urge spending of money to wipe out ghettos. ~~X~~ (U)

3. Explore the possibility of utilizing youth in changing the leadership of the NAACP. ~~X~~ (U)

4. Reaffirm or try again to get the NAACP to go back to the Supreme Court and request the Supreme Court issue a deadline for enforcement of the 1954 Supreme Court decisions. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-98  
April 28, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

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JAMES JACKSON on July 10, 1964, gave a report at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on the NAACP Convention which he attended as a reporter for "The Worker".~~X~~ (U)

JACKSON stated that the NAACP is the major organization in which the Negro people exercise their involvement in the fight for freedom and equal rights. He said the NAACP has been identified from its inception with personalities of W. E. DU BOIS, "our own comrade... a member of our Party". JACKSON said that in the annual report, tribute was paid to the memory of DU BOIS, quite in contrast to any previous conventions of the NAACP, which has fought to re-write the history of the organization and leave out the efforts of DU BOIS.~~X~~ (U)

Continuing, JACKSON stated that this was one of the most extraordinary conventions of the NAACP which he had ever attended. He said initially the convention was the occasion for summer vacations for school teachers, doctors, lawyers and so forth, who make up the leadership of the NAACP. There are, however, quite a few representatives of labor and trade unions involved actively on committees and in some places in the operational and executive leadership of the organization.~~X~~ (U)

JACKSON stated that there are 80,000 young people organized into youth councils of the NAACP. It is estimated that 15,000 to 20,000 of them are white young people. He said that there was more attendance of white youths than at any other convention. He said there was a grateful manifestation of Negro-white unity among the young people.~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

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JACKSON said that the leaders of NAACP remarked that the civil rights bill was a mandate from the whole country to the President and the Attorney General particularly, to proceed with all haste and without compromise to secure for Negroes all the necessary federal protection for them to exercise their rights (U) of American citizenship. ~~X~~

NY T-2  
July 10, 1964 ~~X~~ (U)

On July 1, 1964, [redacted]  
[redacted] Chicago, Illinois, member of the CP from June, 1957 to May, 1964, advised that he observed CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a member of the CP of Illinois, present at the sessions of the NAACP Convention held June 26, 1964, in Washington, D. C. [redacted]

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July 1, 1964  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that there would be a meeting of the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA in New York City on July 16, 1964. ~~X~~ (U)

NY T-98  
July 13, 1964

CP functionaries met on July 16, 1964, at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. At this meeting, JAMES JACKSON gave a report on the NAACP Convention. ~~X~~ (U)

JACKSON said that "we" had a delegation of reporters and observer at the NAACP Convention in the person of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, "who acted as observer and TED BASSETT and myself as reporters." He stated that the general atmosphere of the Convention in ~~X~~ (U)

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NY 100-153735

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relation to attitudes towards "ourselves" was notable. JACKSON said that they had a good time fraternizing with the delegates and were given "a respectful hearing insofar as our position". ~~(S)~~ (U)

JACKSON said that anti-Communism was not evident at this Convention. The Convention opened on a note of triumph, confidence and pride as a result of the passage of the Civil Rights Bill by Congress. JACKSON said that he was unprepared for the depth of anger on the subject of (Senator) GOLDWATER. The delegates were of one mind about the nature of GOLDWATER, and a plan was outlined for the participation and involvement of the NAACP in the 1964 elections. ~~(S)~~ (U)

JACKSON stated that the number one aim of the plan is to defeat GOLDWATER and, secondly, to do everything to support those candidates who supported the Civil Rights Bill, to support a massive registration campaign and, above all, to work for the implementation of the Civil Rights Bill. He stated that "our paper" was the only paper distributed at the Convention until later when the "Afro-American" also distributed one of their papers. ~~(S)~~ (U)

NY T-2  
July 16, 1964

NEW YORK AND VICINITY

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Membership

"The Crisis", issue of February, 1964, which contained information concerning NAACP highlights for the year 1963, reflected that New York City with

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branches in the five Boroughs enrolled 34,011 members for 1963. The Brooklyn Branch, the only branch topping 10,000 members, had 10,200 members.

PRESENT OR PAST CP MEMBERS ACTIVE IN THE NAACP

Present CP Members

Astoria - Long Island City  
NAACP Branch

[Redacted]

NAACP Activity

[Redacted] of the  
Astoria - Long  
Island City NAACP  
Branch.

(U) NY T-238  
X [Redacted] June 1, 1964

CP Activity

Attended a CP Sub-committee meeting on NAACP, which was open to some non-Party members, held April 26, 1964, in New York City for the purpose of formulating plans for the forthcoming NAACP Convention to be held in Washington, D. C. June 22 - 29, 1964.

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NY T-98  
April 28, 1964

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Bronx NAACP Branch

[Redacted]

NAACP Activity

[Redacted]

CP Activity

Attended a CP Sub-committee meeting on NAACP which was open to some non-Party members,

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X (U)

NY 100-153735

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NAACP Activity

and member of the  
Executive  
Committee, Bronx,  
NAACP Branch

(U) ~~X~~ [ NY T-245  
March 18, 1964 ]

CP Activity

held April 26, 1964, in New  
York City for the purpose of  
formulating plans for the  
forthcoming NAACP Convention  
to be held in Washington, D.C.  
June 22 - 29, 1964 ~~X~~

(U)

[ NY T-98  
April 28, 1964 ]

Past CP Members

Greenwich Village -  
Chelsea NAACP Branch

NAACP Activity

[ ]  
[ ]  
Greenwich Village-  
Chelsea NAACP  
Branch

(U) ~~X~~ [ NY T-238  
June 1, 1964 ]

CP Activity

[ ] CP member  
from 1946 to 1949 and from  
September, 1955 to September,  
1962, advised SA [ ]  
[ ] on September 17, 1962,  
that [ ] was a member  
of the CP previous to September,  
1962 and as of September 17,  
1962, she believed he was still  
a member of Village CP Club  
Number One or Village CP  
Club Number Two, both in  
New York City.

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NY 100-153735

New York (Manhattan)  
NAACP Branch

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NAACP Activity

The "New York Amsterdam News" issue of December 29, 1962, identifies RAPHAEL HENDRIX as a member of the Executive Committee of the New York NAACP Branch.

CP Activity

On December 20, 1962, [redacted] a member of the CP from 1945 to 1952, and from 1958 to September, 1962, advised that [redacted] was a member of the CP in Harlem until the summer of 1961.

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On March 4, 1963, [redacted] advised that prior to her leaving the CP, [redacted] was one of the CP Staff in Harlem whose job it was to make up programs for discussion by the CP Regional Committee

New Rochelle, New York  
NAACP Branch

[redacted]  
NAACP Activity

The "Standard Star," New Rochelle, New York, issue of December 10, 1962, page 3, identifies WILLIAM K. MALONEY as a member of the Executive Committee, New Rochelle NAACP Branch.

CP Activity

Source advised that the New York State CP would hold its convention on January 25-27, 1957, at the Chateau Gardens, 105 East Houston Street, New York City. (U)

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[redacted] NY T-8  
January 22, 1957 [redacted]

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NY 100-153735

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NAACP Activity

CP Activity

Source identified a photograph of an unknown individual as that of a person who was at the Chateau Gardens on January 26, 1957. This photograph was subsequently identified by Special Agents of the FBI as that of [redacted]

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[redacted]  
NY T- 112  
January 25-27, 1957] X (U)

[redacted]  
also known as  
[redacted]

NAACP Activity

The "Standard Star," New Rochelle, New York, issue of December 10, 1962, page 3, identifies ISRAEL PEREZ SIPSER as a member of the Executive Committee, New Rochelle NAACP Branch

CP Activity

Source advised that he learned from an admitted member of the CP during the period of early 1930 to 1947 that [redacted] was known to him as a member of the CP.

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[redacted]  
NY T- 246  
May 24, 1955] X (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]  
NAACP Activity

The "Standard Star," New Rochelle, New York issue of December 10, 1962, page 3, identifies SYLVIA GENNIS as a member of the Executive Committee, New Rochelle NAACP Branch.

~~SECRET~~

CP Activity

Source advised that [REDACTED] had told [REDACTED] the informant in 1950 that she, [REDACTED] was a member of the CP

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[REDACTED] NY T- 247  
September 20, 1954] A (U)

- 524 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

F. Negro American Labor Council

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The Negro American Labor Council will be referred to in this report as the NALC, the Greater New York Chapter of the NALC will be referred to as the NYNALC and the Communist Party United States of America, as the CPUSA.

In July, 1959, more than seventy five Negro trade union leaders met in New York to explore the possibility of establishing an organization designed to fight discrimination in industry, government and trade unions. After much planning, the NALC was officially founded in Detroit, Michigan, May 28, 29 and 30, 1960. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, veteran trade union leader and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was elected President at the Founding Convention. At the Second Annual Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, November 10, 11 and 12, 1961, the NALC broadened its membership base to include not only trade unionists, but all Negro workers in response to the developing job crisis suffered by colored workers.

ORGANIZATIONAL DATA (NALC)

Location

The headquarters of the NALC is 217 West 125th Street, New York, New York.

NY T-4  
September 22, 1964

(U)

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NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

Officers

NALC: The following individuals are officers in the

(U)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

[REDACTED] Detroit, Michigan  
[REDACTED] Detroit,  
Michigan

[REDACTED]; St. Louis,  
Missouri

[REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED] Cleveland, Ohio

[REDACTED] Chicago, Illinois

[REDACTED], New York,  
New York

CLEVELAND ROBINSON, New York,  
New York

[REDACTED] Detroit,  
Michigan

[REDACTED] St. Clairsville,  
Ohio

[REDACTED] Youngstown,  
Ohio

[REDACTED] Los Angeles,  
California

[REDACTED] New York, New York (U)  
[REDACTED] Pittsburgh,

Pennsylvania

[REDACTED] Brooklyn, New  
York

[REDACTED] Tampa, Florida  
[REDACTED], New Rochelle,

New York

[REDACTED] Milwaukee,  
Wisconsin

NY T-4

September 22, 1964

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b7C

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NY 100-153735

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Since the spring of 1964, until August 1, 1964,  
[redacted] has attended meetings of either the  
CP Negro Commission, Illinois CP, or the CP Sub-  
Committee on NALC work of the Negro Commission,  
Illinois CP or both. To the knowledge of in-  
formants, [redacted] is not assigned to a CPUSA  
Club within the Illinois CP District, but due  
to the fact that she has been attending these  
meetings and that she is the [redacted]  
[redacted] Illinois  
CP, they consider her to be a current member  
of the Illinois CP. ↗

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[NY T-173 and NY T-180,  
August, 1964]

↗ (U)

- 527 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

[redacted] is a member of the  
New York District CP Board. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-4  
September 22, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)  
INTEREST OF THE CPUSA  
IN THE NALC

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b7c

A meeting of leading CPUSA functionaries was held in CP headquarters on January 11, 1963. At the meeting, BENJAMIN DAVIS stated that the main function of the NALC is to combat discrimination in trade unions and our job is to make it more effective. We cannot abandon it. Our job is to increase the effectiveness of the NALC in its main job. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-2  
January 11, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was National Secretary of the CPUSA, as of January 21, 1964. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-18  
January 21, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS was elected a member of the Secretariat and the National Board, CPUSA, by members of the National Executive Committee, CPUSA, at a meeting held in New York City in April, 1964 ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T-19  
April 9, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

It is noted that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS died on August 22, 1964, in Beth Israel Hospital, New York City.

On January 11, 1963, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT [redacted] and WILLIAM PATTERSON held a meeting. [redacted] informed those present that the National Executive Board of the NALC was scheduled to meet in Detroit on January 26, 1963. She informed LIGHTFOOT and PATTERSON that she would be unable to attend this meeting unless the Party supplied her with funds for traveling. ~~X~~ (U)

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b7C

LIGHTFOOT instructed PATTERSON to obtain money for [redacted] to travel to this meeting and to notify GUS HALL about the situation. He stated that HALL would advance PATTERSON the money for [redacted] trip to Detroit. LIGHTFOOT informed [redacted] that he would be in Detroit on the 25th of January, staying at the Mark Twain Hotel under the name of [redacted]. He stated that prior to [redacted] attending the NALC Executive Board meeting, he would have a conference with her concerning among other things 1) the issue of the 30-hour workweek and 40-hour pay; 2) the march on Washington for jobs by the NALC; 3) President KENNEDY's income tax bill; ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

4) apprenticeship training with special emphasis on Negro and Puerto Rican youth. LIGHTFOOT stated that he would discuss these issues with [redacted] prior to her attendance at the National Executive Board meeting and wished that she would bring these issues before the board. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-4]  
January 11, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

The State Board, CP of Illinois, also known as the Coordinating Committee, is the highest governing body of the Illinois CP and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is a member of this board.

"The Worker" of December 20, 1959, reported that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, at a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA on December 14, 1959, was elected Vice Chairman of the CPUSA. ~~(S)~~ (U)

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

[NY T-20,  
January 8, 1962] ~~(S)~~ (U)

(U)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON was chairman of the New York District CP as of February, 1963. ~~(S)~~ (U)

[NY T-62  
February 11, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

GUS HALL is General Secretary, CPUSA.

[NY T-45  
May 7, 1962] ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the CP, New York District Committee which was held on February 10, 1963, JAMES TORMEY stated the NALC is one organization that the CPUSA could work with. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-4

February 10, 1963

(U)

JAMES TORMEY was the Labor Organizer of the New York District of the CP as of February, 1963. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-45

February 11, 1963

(U)

At a meeting of the 6th Assembly District, Kings County Communist Party (KCCP) club which was held on April 2, 1963, [redacted] gave a report on an Executive Board meeting of the NALC which was held in March, 1963, in New York City. ~~X~~

b6  
b7C

NY T-4

April 3, 1963

(U)

WILLIAM PATTERSON is interested in the NYNALC's recruitment drive and had requested that at the next meeting of the NYNALC statistics concerning this drive be obtained for him. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-4

May 1, 1963

(U)

A meeting of the 6th Assembly District, KCCP club was held on May 27, 1963, and it was decided at the meeting that [redacted] a new member of the CPUSA is to help [redacted] with her work in the NALC. ~~X~~

b6  
b7C

NY T-4

May 31, 1963

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On June 18, 1963, ROBERT THOMPSON was overheard telling [redacted] that DANNY RUBEL had been told of [redacted] transfer from the 6th Assembly District, KCCP club to trade union work and that RUBEL approved of the transfer, because [redacted] work deals mainly with trade union activities and the NALC. ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[redacted] told THOMPSON about the NYNALC meeting on June 17, 1963, and the activites that took place at this meeting. ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

She further told THOMPSON she was the only Party member doing anything in Brooklyn, New York, concerning NALC activites and that there has been no NYNALC CP caucus meetings since January. That as a result the NYNALC CP caucus group has received no instructions from the State or National leadership of the CP. THOMPSON told [redacted] this situation would be corrected in the near future as JIM TORMEY had taken over NYNALC activities for the Party from WILLIAM PATTERSON. ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-4  
June 20, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

On October 29, 1962, ROBERT THOMPSON was elected District Organizer of the New York CP District. ~~X~~ (U)

(U)

[NY T-4  
October 30, 1962] ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

As of September 19, 1962, DANNY RUBEL had no title as such in the CPUSA, but he is the liaison representative between the KCCP and the New York District CP. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-71  
September 19, 1962] ~~X~~

(U)

JIM TORMEY stated on June 20, 1963, that he had recently taken over the control of CPUSA activities within the NYNALC. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-4  
June 21, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

On July 23, 1963, JIM-TORMEY, was overheard making a number of suggestions concerning NYNALC activities that he desired the NYNALC CP caucus members to propose at the NYNALC meeting which would be held on July 24, 1963. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-12  
July 23, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

On July 29, 1963, a meeting of the CP New York District Board was held. JIM TORMEY gave a report on the NYNALC CP caucus which had been meeting regularly for the last month or so. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-4  
August 1, 1963] ~~X~~

(U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On August 14, 1963, JIM TORMEY was overheard telling [redacted] of the NYNALC CP caucus group, that [redacted] was a good person to have in the NALC, because she can get almost anything she wants from A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. TORMEY said that [redacted] and others in the NYNALC CP caucus should help her in her NALC activities. ~~(S)~~

b6  
b7C

(U)

[NY T-12]  
August 15, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

JIM TORMEY had stated that identical problems are sometimes presented to the KCCP and the NYNALC CP caucus and that it was advisable that these two groups should work together when these problems occur. ~~(S)~~

(U)

[NY T-12]  
September 20, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

A New York District CP Board meeting was held on October 14, 1963, in New York City. At the meeting ROBERT THOMPSON stated that the CPUSA must have areas of concentration such as:

1. Key union locals where the CPUSA can build and obtain support.
2. Harlem, New York, where the CPUSA should rebuild.
3. In the NALC and other civil rights groups.

~~(S)~~  
(U)

At the meeting [redacted] wanted to know what the ground rules were to recruit members into the CPUSA. She described a person that she had in mind whom she had tried to recruit for over a year, but said that certain CPUSA leaders had not moved on her request. THOMPSON and other present were unable to answer her questions concerning recruitment. ~~(S)~~

b6  
b7C

(U)

[NY T-4]  
October 16, 1963] ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

After the New York District CP Board meeting held on October 14, 1963, [redacted] was overheard discussing with JIM TORMEY and BETTY GANNETT a possible recruit for the CPUSA named [redacted]. [redacted] informed TORMEY and GANNETT about [redacted] and his work in the NALC in Brooklyn, New York. GANNETT asked where [redacted] lived and when informed that it was in the Borough Section, Brooklyn, New York, she stated that she would like to meet him and could possibly recruit him into her club in that area. ~~(U)~~

b6  
b7C

[NY T-4  
October 16, 1963] ~~(U)~~

(U)

BETTY GANNETT TORMEY was a member of the Boro Hall Club, Kings County CP, as of February 5, 1962. ~~(U)~~

[NY T-35  
February 15, 1962] ~~(U)~~

(U)

At a meeting of the Peace Club, KCCP which was held on October 16, 1963, [redacted] gave a report on the latest developments in the NYNALC CP caucus concerning the Negro Freedom Movement. ~~(U)~~

b6  
b7C

[NY T-12  
October 17, 1963] ~~(U)~~

(U)

At a meeting of the Peace Club, KCCP held on October 28, 1963, [redacted] gave a short resume about his activities at a meeting of the NYNALC, the previous week. ~~(U)~~

b6  
b7C

[NY T-12  
October 29, 1963] ~~(U)~~

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the Peace Club, MCCP held on January 6, 1964, [redacted] advised that he had been attending the meetings of the NYNALC CP caucus. ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 12]  
January 7, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

On December 10, 1963, a meeting which was believed to be a meeting of the New York State Staff CP was held at CPUSA headquarters, New York City. ~~X~~ (U)

During the meeting [redacted] spoke of a conference to take place wherein he said the subjects of civil rights action concerning jobs, education, housing and so forth, would be discussed. ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

He stated that some of "our people" should be there and indicated he would attend. ~~X~~ (U)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON stated the moderator of a church would be there and PATTERSON expressed the opinion that there is the question of "linking up church forces with the trade union movement". PATTERSON felt that the CPUSA should attempt to reach forces in the NALC that are not participating, as their attendance would be very helpful. ~~X~~ (U)

[NY T- 5]  
December 10, 1963] ~~X~~ (U)

On February 2, 1964, a meeting of the NYNALC CP caucus was held. [redacted] was in attendance at this meeting. ~~X~~

b6  
b7C

[NY T- 12]  
February 3, 1964] ~~X~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the Harlem Region CP held on January 31, 1964, one of the points on the agenda was "Building the NALC". ~~X~~

(U)

NY T- 10

February 5, 1964

(U)

During the meeting held on February 22, 1964, of the National CP Negro Commission in Chicago, Illinois, BEN DAVIS stated that we must give more attention to the NALC in general and also to the coming annual convention of the NALC. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T- 173

February 22, 1964

(U)

On April 14, 1964, at a meeting of the Peace Club of the KCCP which was held at 240 Crown Street, Brooklyn, New York, [redacted] discussed the alleged discrimination in the brewery locals of the Teamsters Union and the interest therein of the NYNALC. ~~X~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

In addition, [redacted] advised the club that he and [redacted] have been nominated for the Executive Board of NYNALC. ~~X~~

b6  
b7C

(U)

NY T- 12

April 16, 1964

(U)

On A meeting of the NYNALC CP caucus was held on March 22, 1964.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] was among those present at the meeting. ~~X~~

(U)

NY T-12

March 23, 1963

(U)

ALC.

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

On April 15, 1964, at a meeting of the Miscellaneous Industrial Section group of the CPUSA which was held in Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue, New York City, under the name "Writers Club", [redacted]

[redacted] who was [redacted] of the meeting advised that hereafter all Industrial Clubs of the CPUSA will operate under the name "Socialist Club" and the primary duties of members of the "Socialist Clubs" will be civil rights and the members will participate in the activities of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People (NAACP) and the NALC. (U)

b6  
b7c

NY T-65  
April 16, 1964] X (U)

- 538 -

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the New York District Negro Commission, CPUSA which was held on April 25, 1964, (U) there was a discussion of the NYNALC. ~~(S)~~

[redacted] reported that the [redacted] slate had been elected in the election of the NYNALC, but he said there was some question concerning the votes and that the election would not be final until the NALC had a chance to determine if forty votes which were being challenged should be declared valid votes. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-12  
April 30, 1964] ~~(S)~~ (U)

It was ascertained that on April 26, 1964, that [redacted] a member of the 11th Assembly District of the Harlem region of the CP had commented that he would attend the NALC convention which would start on May 29, 1964, at the Hotel Pick Carter in Cleveland, Ohio, as a delegate of the NYNALC. ~~(S)~~

b6  
b7C

(U) [NY T-10  
April 29, 1964] ~~(S)~~ (U)

At a meeting of the Crown Heights Section of the CPUSA which was held at 599 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York, on April 27, 1964, [redacted] spoke about the NYNALC election and said that though the final results of the election of Executive Board members is not yet known, he and [redacted] received a heavy vote. [redacted] stated that a number of the votes had been challenged and that this had caused a delay in obtaining the final results. ~~(S)~~ (U)

b6  
b7C

[NY T-75  
April 28, 1964] ~~(S)~~ (U)

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-153735

~~SECRET~~

At a meeting of the New York CP Industrial Council which was held on May 3, 1964, at the Prince George Hotel, 14 East 28th Street, New York City,

[redacted] in her report on the NYNALC stated that the CPUSA had gained a victory in the recent NYNALC election and that Party people had played a very important role in the election. She referred to the tactics used by Party people in not pushing for Party members to be elected but rather pushing for the slate of [redacted] so that they could obtain greater unity in the NYNALC. *RK*

b6  
b7C

(U)

At the meeting, [redacted] advised that the Chicago Branch of the NALC had made large gains in their membership and said that if the NYNALC became more active in trade union work it would also increase its membership. *R*

b6  
b7C

(U)

At a meeting of the Trade Union Commission of the New York District CP which was held on May 3, 1964, at the Prince George Hotel, 14 East 28th Street, New York City, [redacted] spoke on the election of the NYNALC. *X*

b6  
b7C

(U)

She said that leaflets had been issued urging NYNALC members to vote for people whom the NYNALC CP caucus desired to be elected and that NYNALC CP caucus was pleased with the election which resulted in the election of [redacted] *X*

b6  
b7C

(U)

[redacted] stated that [redacted] who was defeated by [redacted] is expected to again raise the issue before the National Convention of the NALC which is scheduled for Cleveland on May 29-31, 1964, about the matter of the "loyalty oath" by which CPUSA members would be barred from membership in the NALC. She mentioned that [redacted] is close to A. PHILIP RANDOLPH and is much more in favor *X*

b6  
b7C

(U)

~~SECRET~~